DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 120 056 SO 008 958

AUTHOR	Gillespie, Judith A.; Patrick, John J.
TITLE	Observing Political Systems: Political Systems, Unit One. Comparing Political Experiences, Experimental Materials.
INSTITUTION	American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C.; Social Studies Development Center, Bloomington, Ind.
SPONS AGENCY	National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	75
NOTE	184p.; For related documents, see SO 008 957-972; Some illustrations may reproduce poorly
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$10.03 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS	*American Government (Course); Case Studies; Civics; *Class Activities; Course Content; Grade 12; Instructional Materials; Political Influences; *Political Science; Politics; Secondary Education; Skill Development; *Social Studies Units; *Systems Concepts
IDENTIFIERS	*Comparing Political Experiences; High School Political Science Curriculum Project

ABSTRACT

This first of three units of "Comparing Political Experiences", a first-semester course, provides 18 activities which introduce 12th-grade students to political system concepts that they will work with in-depth in succeeding units. The activities and readings, divided into seven sections, stress the development of political knowledge, intellectual skills, and participation skills. In part 1, students speculate about the meaning of politics from selected readings and a case study of political activity in a high school. Part 2 provides activities to sensitize students to the political events which occur regularly in their lives and to the political participant roles which are played regularly in groups to which they belong. Part 3 introduces and develops the concept of political system. Part 4 provides activities that introduce coalitional political systems and teach students to view political-system types as abstract models. Part 5 introduces the concepts of maintenance and change through a case study and a simulation. Part 6 studies the concepts of political development and conflict through a case study about presidential war powers and a simulation. Part 7 provides activities in which students take observer roles in groups to gather systematic information about political experiences. Each section contains the necessary student materials and student discussion questions. (Author/DE)

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Comparing Political Experiences

POLITICAL SYSTEMS

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UNIT ONE

Observing Political Systems

Judith A. Gillespie
John J. Patrick

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MAR 02 1976

EXPERIMENTAL
MATERIALS

COMPARING POLITICAL EXPERIENCES

POLITICAL SYSTEMS

OBSERVING POLITICAL SYSTEMS

Judith Gillespie
John Patrick

High School Political Science Curriculum Project
Social Studies Development Center
513 North Park Avenue
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

These experimental curriculum materials are part of a two-semester high school course, Comparing Political Experiences. The materials constitute one unit of one semester, Political Systems. The course is being developed by the High School Political Science Curriculum Project, which is one of the projects sponsored by the American Political Science Association's Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education. The project is supported by funds provided by the National Science Foundation. These materials cannot be duplicated, reproduced or used in any manner without the specific written approval of the High School Political Science Curriculum Project.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many members of the High School Political Science Curriculum Project have contributed to the development of this unit. The project is co-directed by Judith Gillespie, Howard Mehlinger and John Patrick. Dave Lambert has served as coordinator of the development of evaluation materials and is in charge of pilot testing for the program. Howard Mehlinger carries responsibility for the diffusion dimension of the program. Martin Sampson administers and coordinates pilot school activities. Judith Gillespie and John Patrick are directly responsible for the materials developed in this unit.

Several instructional developers and artists have made important contributions to this unit. We would like to offer acknowledgments to each of them for their contributions:

Robert Hanvey:	"Walkout!" case materials.
Joel Pett and Nina Thayer:	Various illustrations throughout the unit and the production work on the "Political Systems" slide-tape.
Bruce Smith	"The Dance Committee Decides" case.
B'Ann Wright	Case material on "President Johnson and the Vietnam War" and "Richard Nixon and Cambodia."

Each of these people continue to provide a creative and important intellectual stimulus for our work.

We also wish to acknowledge the sponsorship of the American Political Science Association's Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education. Throughout the life of the project, the Committee members have provided important support and input into the project. The committee members are: Richard Snyder, Chairman, Ohio State University; Lee Anderson, Northwestern University; Laurily Epstein, Washington University; Leslie McLemore,

Jackson State College; Howard Mehlinger, Indiana University; Jewel Prestage, Southern University; Judith Torney, University of Illinois, Circle Campus; Harmon Zeigler, University of Oregon. Since March, 1972 the project has also received continuous support with funds provided by the National Science Foundation. Without this funding we could not undertake such an experimental program, nor could we support extensive field tests of the materials.

We have also been demonstrably aided in our efforts to develop and test materials by ideas, critiques and site evaluations from our local field consultants. The field consultant network began as an effort to join university-based political scientists and social studies educators with each of the pilot schools. The success of the network has far exceeded our original expectations. The consultants have worked with the pilot schools and critiqued materials. Eight people are also engaged in providing case materials on schools to aid in the development of instructional units. The consultants are listed below. The asterisks refer to those individuals who are engaged in gathering case materials:

*Hal Barger
Department of Political Science
Trinity University
715 Stadium Drive
San Antonio, Texas 78284

George Behlen
History Department
Youngstown State University
Youngstown, Ohio

*Winsten Cox
Department of Political Science
Howard University
Washington, D.C. 20001

*Chris Garcia
Department of Political Science
University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87101

Maurice Guysenir
Department of Secondary Education
Northeastern Illinois University
Bryn Mawr at St. Louis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60625

Michael Hartoonian
Department of Public Instruction
126 Langdon Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53702

*Mary Hepburn
Department of Social Science Education
Dudley Hall
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia 30601

Ray Hiner
School of Education
University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas 66044

Ruth Jones
Department of Political Science
8001 Natural Bridge Road
University of Missouri-St. Louis
St. Louis, Missouri 63121

Morris Lewenstein
Department of Social Science
California State University,
San Francisco
1600 Holloway Drive
San Francisco, California 94132

Sarah Liebschutz
Department of Political Science
SUNY at Brockport
Brockport, New York 14420

Jack Lowry
Department of Education
University of California at Davis
Davis, California 95616

James McKenny
Department of Political Science
Wichita State University
Wichita, Kansas 67208

Orvill Minard
Department of Political Science
University of Nebraska
Omaha, Nebraska

Dr. Manindra Mohapatra
Associate Professor of Political
Science
Old Dominion University
Lafayette, Virginia 23508

Willis Moreland
Department of Social Education
104 Hensly Hall
University of Nebraska
Lincoln, Nebraska

*James Oswald
Intercultural Studies Program
American Universities Field Staff
3 Lebanon Street
Hanover, New Hampshire 03755

Richard Remy
Mershon Center
The Ohio State University
199 West 10th Avenue
Columbus, Ohio 43201

Jack Simpson
Department of Curriculum &
Instruction
Enderis 377
University of Wisconsin
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201

Jim Stevens
Director of Financial Aids
Marietta College
Marietta, Ohio 45750

George Stoumbis
Department of Secondary Education
Mesa Vista Hall
University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87101

*Jan Tucker
College of Education
Florida International University
Tamiami Trail
Miami, Florida 33144

Ronald Urick
Department of Interdisciplinary
Teacher Education
College of Education
Wayne State University
Detroit, Michigan 48202

Thomas Volgy
Department of Government
The University of Arizona
Tucson, Arizona 85721

Dennis Wiedmann
Department of Political Science
Carroll College
Helena, Montana 59601

*Karen Wiley
Social Science Education
Consortium
855 Broadway
Boulder, Colorado 80302

*Maurice Woodard
Department of Political Science
Howard University
Washington, D.C. 20001

Edward Wynne
College of Education
University of Illinois at
Chicago Circle
Box 4348
Chicago, Illinois 60680

Special thanks is extended to the pilot teachers who are testing these materials this year. Past evaluations from many of the teachers and students have produced many insights into the strength and feasibility of our ideas. This unit is a far different piece than was originally conceived because of their advice in its developmental stages. The pilot teachers testing Political Issues materials for the 1975-76 school year are listed below:

Mr. Joe Bartges
George Washington High School
1522 Tennis Club Road
Charleston, West Virginia 25314

Diane Bolling
Roxbury High School
335 Greenville
Boston, Massachusetts

Mr. David Bonnette
Frontier High School
Route 2, Box 45
New Matamoras, Ohio 45767

Mr. Tom Castellano
Clyde-Savannah High School
215 Glasgow Street
Clyde, New York 14433

Mr. Tom Coats
South Dade Senior High School
24801 S.W. 167th Avenue
Homestead, Florida 33030

Mr. Bob Cook
Rio Americano High School
4540 American River Drive
Sacramento, California 95825

Ms. Diane Cubbage
Wichita High School North
1437 Rochester
Wichita, Kansas 67203

Mr. William Daley
Kellam High School
RFD 2 Box 2010
Virginia Beach, Virginia 23456

Mr. Tony Gauthier
Lawrence High School
19th and Louisiana Streets
Lawrence, Kansas 66044

Ms. Rosemary Gindhart
Delta High School
Rural Route #1
Muncie, Indiana 47302

Mr. Charles Gordon
Fremont Senior High School
1750 North Lincoln Avenue
Fremont, Nebraska 68025

Mr. Doug Jenisch
Hanover High School
Lebanon Street
Hanover, New Hampshire 03755

Mr. Harold Keller
Central Catholic High School
1403 North St. Mary's
San Antonio, Texas 78215

Mr. Richard F. Kraft
Los Altos High School
15321 E. Los Robles Avenue
Hacienda Heights, California 91745

Mr. James Kroll
Milwaukee Trade and Technical
High School
319 West Virginia Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53204

Ms. Shirley S. Mantlo
Fenger High School
11220 South Wallace
Chicago, Illinois 60628

Ms. Linda Matarrese
East High School
1545 Detroit Street
Denver, Colorado 80206

Mr. Tom Obrecht & Ms. Rachel Grogg
North High School
1550 3rd Street
Riverside, California 92507

John O'Connor
Hyde Park High School
655 Metropolitan Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts 02136

Mr. Steven Prigohzy
Friends School in Detroit
1100 St. Aubin
Detroit, Michigan 48207

Mr. Richard Saul
The Rayen School
250 Bonita Avenue
Youngstown, Ohio 44540

Mr. Ray Vandersteen
Bloomington High School North
3901 Kinser Pike
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Mr. David Victor
Lake Park High School
6N 600 Medinah
Itasca, Illinois

Ms. Sara R. Vincent
Elbert County High School
Forest Avenue
Elberton, Georgia 30635

Ms. Marge Whatley
Houston Independent School District
4100 Chartres Street
Houston, Texas 77004

Ms. Elise Whyte
Anacostia High School
16th and R Streets, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20020

All of these people have demonstrably influenced the way this unit had been developed. However, the responsibility for the ideas and approaches taken in the materials should not be attributed to the APSA Pre-Collegiate Committee, the National Science Foundation, the consultants or the pilot teachers. Although their contributions continue to be invaluable, responsibility for the ideas presented here rests with the authors.

Judith Gillespie
John Patrick

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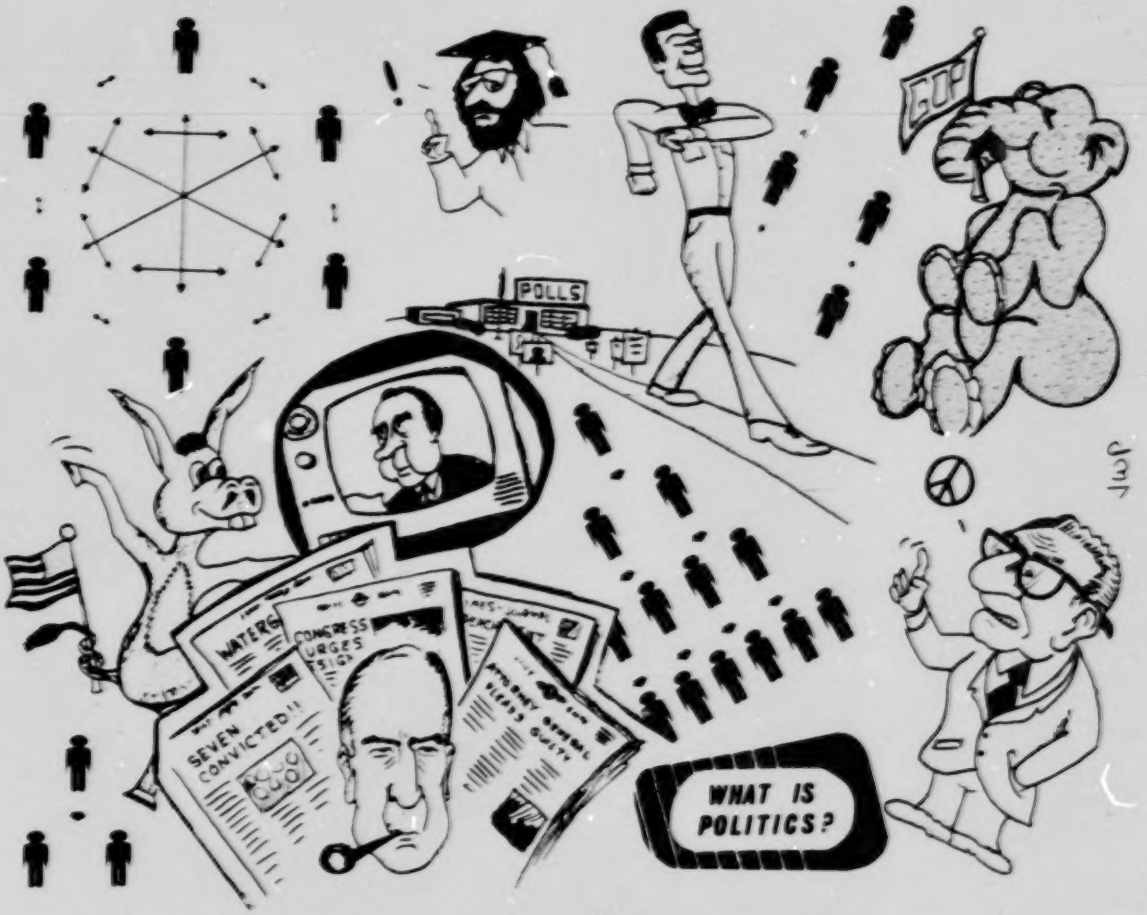
PART A: INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL LIFE

Politics, political, politician -- you've heard and seen these words many times. People you know, as well as those you see on television, often say words like these:

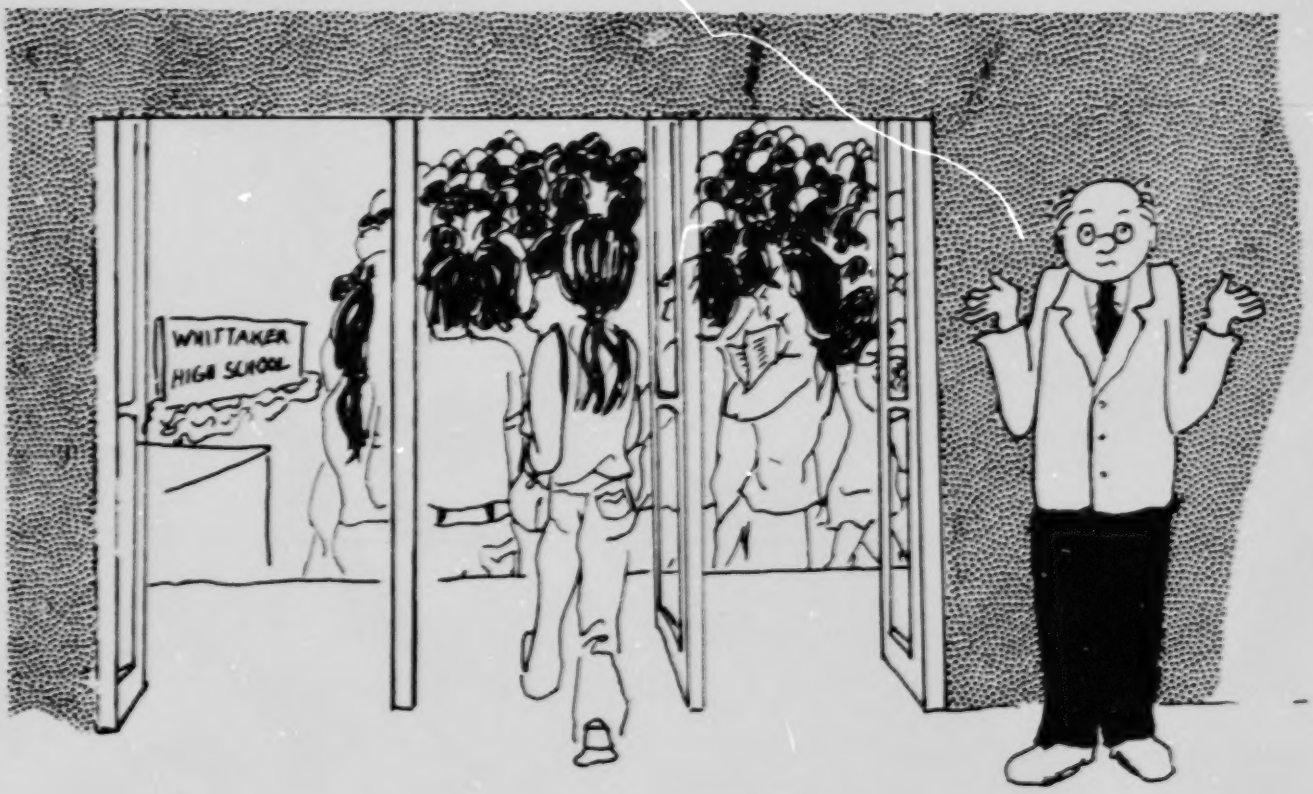
"playing politics"
"dirty politics"
"political expediency"
"the politicians in city hall"
"political campaigning"
"political clout"
"backroom politicians"
"political decisions"
"political parties"
"political strategy"



Activity A-1: Walkout!

What is politics? Who participates? Where, when, and how do people participate? How can people participate most effectively? An important objective of this course is to help you answer these questions.

The following case study, "Walkout", can help you begin to learn the meaning of politics. Your teacher will play a tape recording of a news broadcast about a protest demonstration in a high school. A transcript of the broadcast is on the next page.



TRANSCRIPT

Transcript of "Walkout" Tape

NEWS COMMENTATOR:

Good morning, and now the news headlines . . . that latest plane hijacking ends with all hostages safe and the hijackers captured . . . thousands of acres of timber still threatened by fires raging out of control in the Northwest . . . in Washington a dramatic decision by the Supreme Court and locally, the walkout by Chicano students at Whittaker High School continues into its second week. First, the local story. . . .

There are a lot of empty seats in the classrooms of Whittaker High. Some 500 students, 20% of the school's population, are not in attendance and truant officers won't solve the problem. What *will* solve it is not yet clear. Last week the Chicano students at Whittaker demanded the firing of one teacher, changes in the curriculum, the hiring of more bi-lingual teachers and in general, more respectful treatment for Chicanos. When they didn't get what they felt were firm assurances, they walked out. The students say they will stay away from school until the demands are met.

The school's principal, John Sanders, with backing from the superintendent and school board, says he is not willing to discuss the complaints further until the students return to school. He is quoted as saying, "I am always ready to consider real grievances but not at the point of a gun. Confrontations don't get us anywhere." Meanwhile, the Chicanos are staying out. Peacefully, no picketing, although police were alerted last week for possible trouble. The spokesman for the Chicano student group, Victor Gomez, says, "We're not looking for trouble . . . we're looking for respect. But to get respect in this society you have to take a stand . . . and that's what we're doing."

Both the school's principal and the Chicano spokesman have promised statements to the press later in the day . . . And now a message from an important sponsor . . .

PRESS CONFERENCE: VICTOR GOMEZ

My name is Victor Gomez. O.K., you want to know why 500 Chicanos weren't in school last week and today and maybe tomorrow and the day after that . . . why 500 Chicanos want a poor old lady teacher fired before they come back to school . . . why 500 Chicanos want some attention paid to *their* history in the curriculum . . . want to be able to talk *their* language, you know, without feeling dumb?

Hey, do you know how to tell a Chicano when you see him? Brown. Not white like you. Brown. That's the Aztec in us. There's three kinds of kids in this school — blacks, browns and *gavachos* — white kids. The teachers are almost all *gavachos*. You want to guess which kids are getting the favors?

Hey, you see how I'm dressed? Khaki pants, pressed real neat. T-shirt. And carrying another shirt over my arm. That's a funny thing with us, that shirt over the arm, carried real neat, you know? A white teacher . . . like that *vieja* — that old lady who teaches English . . . she sees some kids with brown skins and shirts over their arm and she says, "Look at that gang!" White kids standing around the same way — they're just "socializing."

Well, as we say, "*Asi es la cosa.*" That's the way it is. But not any more. Now we say, "*Ya basta!*" That's enough! Let me tell you about that poor old lady teacher the principal don't want to fire. Better yet, let me tell you about Frenchie here. He's a student in her English classes. But not such a good student, you know? He lives in the barrio, and most of his life he hears Spanish so his English is not so good. So he talks a kind of mixture, you know, and that teacher *se aguito* all over the place — she gets really bent out of shape. So about three times a week she's got Frenchie up in front of the class . . . and she's making him feel dumb because she don't want to hear anyone talk anything but English in her English class. Just a dumb Chicano kid, eh? *Chale* on that! Frenchie's a Chicano for sure — and a man. For sure a man. And a Chicano man should not be put down by a woman in front of others. Maybe it's o.k. with *gavachos* but not with Chicanos.

Hey you want to know who's really dumb? Not Frenchie. When that teacher yells at him Frenchie looks down at the floor because that is the way a Chicano shows respect. But you know what that old lady yells at Frenchie? She says, "Look at me when I'm talking to you!" But if Frenchie looks at her that means he don't have respect. So who's dumb? A teacher that dumb . . . who makes Frenchie and lots of other Chicanos feel like *they* are the dumb ones — that kind of teacher shouldn't be teaching Chicanos or anyone else.

How are the other teachers? Not so bad as this one. Maybe they can be educated about Chicanos. But when new teachers get hired we want some who are smart like Chicanos — who know two languages . . . English *and* Spanish. Then when they hear a kid like Frenchie speaking Spanish they won't be down on him. And we want some history courses that don't just talk about brave Texans but talk about brave Mexicans and all the land the Anglos ripped off.

Listen, speaking of land. You think you are in the U.S.A. Right? Let me tell you where I am, where all the Chicanos around here are. We are in Atzlan. Atzlan is . . . a place . . . southwestern U.S.A. and Mexico . . . but it is also a place in the head. Like when you say you are an American you think "from sea to shining sea." That's you, that's your place. Well, the place of Chicanos is Atzlan. So, you know, we're in the same room but, man, we're not in the same place.

PRESS CONFERENCE: JOHN SANDERS

Let me review the situation for you. At the moment we have almost five hundred Mexican-American students who are not attending classes. Last week, a committee that claimed to represent the feelings of all the Mexican-American students presented the school administration with a list of demands, including the firing of one of our teachers. When these demands were not immediately met, the students walked out. The leader of the walkout seems to be an 11th grader named Victor Gomez.

O.K. those are the basic facts. But there are some other facts. Number one is that the school authorities in dealing with the situation intend to be firm. This walkout just won't work. Young people of this age are expected to be in school and until they are back in school there won't be any further consideration of their complaints.

Fact number two is that the school authorities will be fair. In any situation like this some grievances are legitimate and some are not. We intend to be fair in determining which complaints are reasonable and which are not. If there are justifiable complaints we will make every attempt to correct the underlying causes. But . . . . fact number three is that I am not about to fire one of my teachers. That demand falls into the unreasonable category. As the principal of this school I intend to protect my teachers against unwarranted criticism. And in this case the criticism is totally unwarranted.

There *are* grounds for firing a teacher but trying to help students make it in the American economy is surely not one of them. This teacher knows that adults who speak English poorly spend the rest of their lives in low-paid jobs. So she takes her job seriously. She wants the students in her class to come out speaking and writing better English. And you can't learn that by speaking Spanish. So she's tough on the kids who won't try to learn standard English. But a lot of teachers are tough.

What's new about that? The Mexican-American students want to be treated with more respect. Well, this teacher may not be as respectful as they would like right now but she's trying to see to it that they get treated with respect when they are adult workers. And that'll happen only if they can handle the English language. If they can't handle it, they'll spend the rest of their lives in manual labor jobs.

You know, many of our immigrants faced the same problem . . . giving up the old country language and the old country habits . . . learning to be an American. Usually it was the older folks who had the most trouble making the adjustment. But now it's the young ones. They want to live in America physically but they don't want to join up. Instead, they want to separate themselves. It's romantic but it's also a good way to stay poor.

The following newspaper article tells about the outcome of the students' political actions.

Chicano protests... one year later

By BILL MULDOON

One year ago there was a massive walkout of Chicano students at Whittaker High. Recently I visited Whittaker to find out what had happened since the walkout. And just for the sake of comparison I visited another high school, Glenbard. Chicanos were protesting at Glenbard last year, too.

Everything is calm today at Whittaker. Victor Gomez, the student who organized the walkout, will receive his diploma in June from John Sanders the principal. One year ago these two were eyeball to eyeball over the issue of whether a particular high school teacher should be fired.

Well, that English teacher is still in her classroom. But the Chicanos won their points, too. Three of the new teachers hired after the walkout speak Spanish as well as English. A group of teachers worked hard last summer to develop new instructional units on Mexican-American culture and history. And all teachers at Whittaker are now required to take a human relations workshop that includes a heavy dose of Chicano studies.

I took a walk through the halls of Whittaker. Things are very quiet. The classrooms look busy but orderly. This year no one is protesting anything.

But things are not quiet at Glenbard. It seems that they never are. At Glenbard last year there was no walkout. But there was plenty of protest – Chicano students holding sudden meetings in empty classrooms and in the gym, a student march outside the school one afternoon, angry sessions in teacher meetings with some teachers on the side of the Chicano students and others not. But all of this is not unusual at Glenbard. There is always lots of action.

I talked to one of the teachers at Glenbard. "In my view," she said, "the Chicanos were long overdue. Everyone else around here had been complaining. So they did what comes naturally at Glenbard. They held some loud meetings and rallies, which got the attention and sympathy of a few influential teachers and one of the assistant principals. They got the leader of the black students on their side. And with that kind of support in their pocket they showed up at parent-teacher meetings and student council meetings and in the principal's office and made their pitch.

"They wanted Chicano studies in the curriculum and less sarcasm from coaches and teachers. And they wanted some Spanish-speaking counselors. By that time sympathy was building and there wasn't much question that they'd win their demands. In this school it isn't a matter of convincing the principal. It's a matter of getting support from a lot of different parties – students, teachers and administrators. The principal may sign the final papers but he doesn't really make the final decision."

The principal at Glenbard agreed with the teacher's comments. "There isn't one leader in this school," he said, "There are student leaders, teacher leaders and administrator leaders. And they're all busy selling their special ideas to anyone who will listen. Stand here for thirty minutes and someone will come along with a petition and ask you to support the cause of left-handed vegetarians.

"The Chicano protest last year was important and it helped bring some deserved changes. But there were a lot of other things going on at the same time. If you'd been here you might not have known which was the most exciting to watch."

John Sanders, the principal at Whittaker, has a very different picture of his school. It is clear that the walkout last year still disturbs him. "We'd never had that sort of thing before and I intend to see that we don't have it again. One thing the walkout taught us is that we needed an improved grievance procedure.

"Well, we've got an improved procedure. So if students have a problem there is now a way to get the matter considered quickly by the principal and a fair decision made – without going through a big confrontation. Students have every right to communicate their grievances but it can be done in an orderly fashion. Ultimately, of course, the decision has to be made by the principal because he has the authority and the responsibility."

So, here we are . . . one year later. Chicanos protested and gained some ground. Changes were made. But the two schools where it happened didn't, perhaps, change all that much. In some basic ways they are the same places they were before the protest. Whittaker is still Whittaker. Glenbard is still Glenbard. And two more different schools it would be difficult to find.

Try to answer these questions from information in the "Walkout" case.

1. Can you find any examples of politics in this case?
2. Why do you think your answers to question 1 are examples of politics?
3. Why do people take part in political activities?
4. What are important differences in the political situation at Whittaker and Glenbard High Schools as described in the newspaper article?
5. Why did these differences exist?
6. What is your opinion of the outcome of the "Walkout" case? Do you like or dislike the outcome? Why?
7. Would you take part in an activity such as the "Walkout"? Why?

Activity A-2: What Is Politics?

Politics refers to activities through which resources are distributed in a group of people. The two main words in this definition are activities and resources.

Resources are things which people in a group value. Examples of resources are wealth, information, skills, ideas, and status.

IDEAS

STATUS

SKILLS

RESOURCES

MATERIAL WEALTH

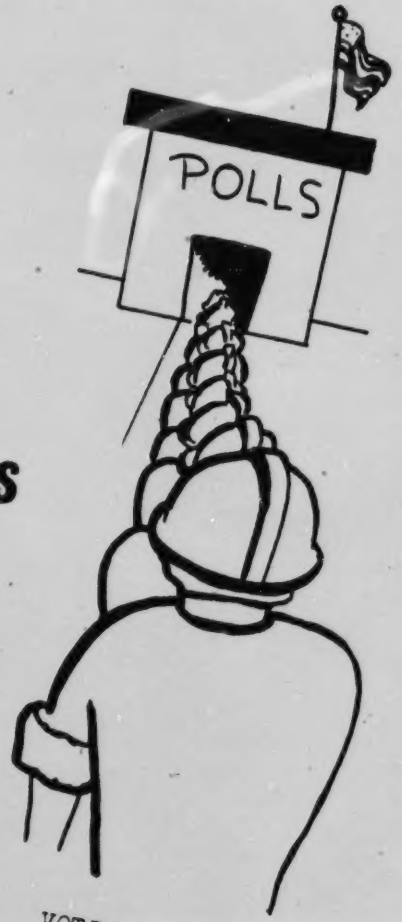
INFORMATION

Activities, the other main word in our definition of politics, are what people do to distribute resources in a group. Examples of political activities are voting, working in an election campaign, signing a petition to be sent to a public official, participating in a public demonstration, leading an interest group, and decision-making in government.

LOBBYING

DECISION-MAKING

ACTIVITIES

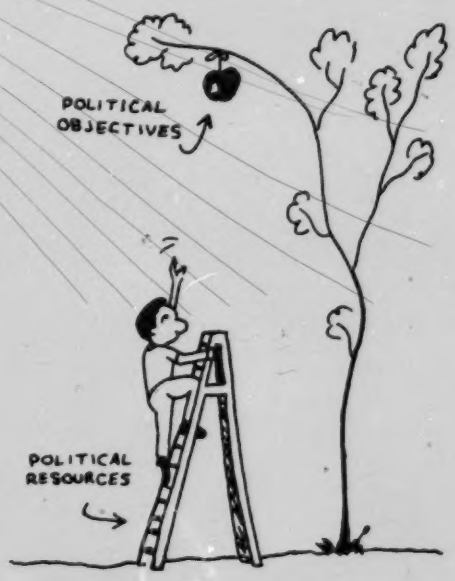


VOTING

Through political activities people try to influence the giving or withholding of resources. For example, people participating in a protest demonstration may be demanding that government officials give a favor to their group or that they withhold a favor from another group. Some groups trade their support for a candidate in an election campaign for promises of favors that will be done for the group if the candidate wins public office. The Chicano students, in the preceding case, took part in the "Walkout" to try to influence school officials to give them things that they wanted.

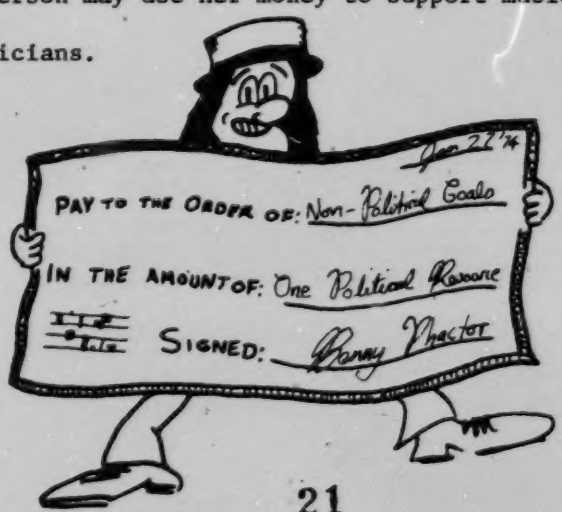
People need resources to reach objectives through political activities. By using resources wisely people can influence decisions about the giving or withholding of resources. They can have a say in the distribution of valued things. In the preceding case, the Chicano students used resources such as their skill in organizing a "walkout" and in negotiating with school officials.

Those with many resources are in a stronger position to influence decisions about who gets what than are those with few resources. A group with much money, knowledge, and skill has more potential for achieving objectives through political activities than does a group with little money, knowledge, or skill.



When wealth, information, skill, status, etc. are used to influence others we call them political resources. These political resources are used to help gain things which people value -- that is, more resources of one kind or another.

Political resources can make a big difference in who gets what and how they get it. However, some people with many resources may not achieve many (or even any) political objectives. They may not be interested in politics. Thus, they may choose to use their wealth to do non-political things. For example, a rich person may use her money to support musicians and sculptors rather than politicians.



Those who have ample resources, plus the motivation and opportunity to use their resources for political purposes, are likely to gain many valued things through political action. Those who have few resources, and those who lack motivation or opportunity to use their resources for political purposes, have a great disadvantage in trying to achieve objectives through political action.

Politics often involves clashes between people with different values; that is, different beliefs about what is good or bad, better or worse. For example, some Americans believe that the government should spend a large share of available money to provide better educational opportunities through public schools. They value good public education more than other things. Others may desire that the government use a large share of available money to develop new weapons and larger, stronger armed forces. They value national defense more than other things.

Groups with different values become involved in political activities to try to influence decision makers to give or withhold different things. For example, during the last ten years the Sierra Club and the National Coal Association have clashed over how resources of land and coal ought to be used.

The Sierra Club has valued the conservation of natural resources more than many other things. Thus, Sierra Club members have been involved in political activities to influence the government to strictly regulate and limit the strip-mining of coal. They claim that unregulated strip-mining results in permanent destruction of valuable land.

In contrast, the National Coal Association has valued the increased use of coal as a cheap source of energy. Thus, members of this group have been involved in political activities to influence the government not to

regulate strip-mining too strictly. They claim that strip mining is the key to providing the nation with low-priced energy needed to keep industries in operation.

The "Walkout" case is a good example of disagreements between people with different values. The Chicano students and the school administrators and teachers had very different objectives. These different objectives represented big differences in values, that is, differences in beliefs about what is good or bad -- about what should or should not be done.

The people in this case acted politically to try to settle their differences. Each group used resources to try to gain things that it valued.

Try to use what you've read about the meaning of politics to analyze the "Walkout" case on pages 3 to 7.

Our definition of politics is: Activities through which resources are distributed in a group of people. Apply this definition to the "Walkout" case by answering the following questions.

1. What different things did the Chicano students and the school officials value? Why?
2. How did these differences in values lead to political activities by the Chicano students?
3. What political resources did the Chicano students have?
4. How did the Chicano students use their resources when taking part in political activities? Why?
5. What political resources did the school officials have?
6. How did the school officials use their resources when taking part in political activities? Why?
7. What was the outcome of this case? What groups gained resources?
8. Can you use the ideas of political resources and activities to explain the outcome of this case?
9. Can you use the ideas of political resources and activities to explain why there were important differences in the political situation at Whittaker and Glenbard high schools?
10. Agree or disagree with each of these statements.

    a. (1) The Chicano students <u>should not</u> have tried to influence the hiring and firing of teachers and the content of courses in their school.

       (2) The political objectives of the Chicano students were <u>good</u>; they <u>should</u> have tried to achieve them.

    b. (1) The Chicano students <u>should not</u> have participated in a protest demonstration such as the "Walkout."

       (2) It was proper for the Chicano students to participate in a protest demonstration to try to gain their objectives.

c. (1) The political situation at Glenbard High School is better than the political situation at Whittaker High School.

(2) The political situation at Whittaker High School is better than it is at Glenbard High School.

11. Give at least one reason in support of each statement you agreed with in the preceding list.

PART B: POLITICS AND YOU

Political activity goes on around you every day. It takes place in your home, in your school, and in your social groups after school. Can you think of any examples of political activity that you have observed recently, or that you have taken part in?

Activity B-1: Ways of Participating in Politics

Political activity having to do with government is very important. Enormous amounts of political resources -- time, energy, money, skills, etc. -- are used by many people trying to influence government officials.

Consider the following conversation between members of a neighborhood political club that is planning to support Leroy Jimmerson as their candidate for mayor of their town. Political activity of this kind goes on regularly in communities all over the country.

- -

Case A. -- Helping Elect Leroy

Michael: How are we going to help Leroy to become mayor?

Larry: Well, for one thing, we can give $2,000 to his campaign fund.

Mary: That's too much. We haven't got that kind of money. I say we should donate only $500.

Larry: That's ridiculous. Leroy needs all the bread he can get to win this race. If we're really for him we'll give 'til it hurts.

Mary: No way, Larry! If Leroy gets $2,000 of our precious cash, then I'm walking out of this club.

Susie: Calm down, Mary. We all know you want the best for the group, and we respect you for it. We aren't going to do anything without including you in it. But, you ought to give Larry's idea a fair hearing. He might be right for once. How about it, Larry?

Larry: Yeah, I come up with a decent idea once-in-awhile.

Susie: What do other people think about Larry's idea? Should we donate $2,000 to Leroy's campaign?

Michael: That's a bit too much, but I think we can afford to give him $1,200. Let's take a vote on it. All in favor say aye....

- -

Although very important, government is not the only political arena. Significant political activity does not take place only in city halls, political clubs, state capitol buildings, political party meetings, etc. Rather, depending on who you are, and what things you value, politics in other places -- the home, the school, the place of work, the social organization -- may be very important.

Look at the following example. Political activity of this kind goes on in schools and in neighborhood groups all over the country. The outcomes are very important to the participants. People like you are involved in this kind of political activity every day.

- -

Case B -- The Dance Committee Decides

When the bell rang ending last period classes, Bill Abenschein quickly stood up and hurried down the hall toward his locker. He only had five minutes to get upstairs to room 237, where the dance committee was meeting.

Cindy Jones, the senior class president, had appointed Bill and four

other seniors to a committee to manage next month's dance. Two hundred dollars from the class treasury had been set aside for the dance, and today the committee had to decide how to use that money. No matter what they decided, today was the deadline since arrangements had to be made if the dance was going to take place.

As Bill walked toward his locker, the four other committee members -- Ramon Hernandez, Jason Lancaster, Florethia Washington, and Ginger Berry -- were also hurrying to the meeting. Each was thinking about the dance.

Ramon wanted to do something different -- something besides dancing to records in the gym, as they usually did. For $195 they could get "Me and Dem Guys," a really good band, to play. Ramon loved dancing and felt certain that most students in the senior class would appreciate a live and talented band.

Jason went to all the dances, but only because this gave him a chance to be around his friends. He didn't particularly care for dancing. So he also wanted something unusual -- something classy, perhaps a dinner dance. For $200 the Fox Head restaurant would provide dinner. Since a small combo played there every weekend, those who wanted to dance could do so. Those who preferred talking would be able to chat in a nice place.

Florethia always enjoyed the dances in the gym, and so did most of her friends. Since it cost almost nothing for a dance with records, they could leave the money in the treasury and use it for something really special later in the year.

Ginger hadn't given the matter any thought. She had been too busy. So she planned to listen to the ideas the others suggested. She'd go along with the idea that seemed to be the most fun and that most of the seniors

would like.

Bill reached room 237 before the others. Taking out pencil and paper, he began writing down some arguments for his idea. For $75 the "Court Jesters," a group of high school juniors, would play; and they weren't a bad rock and roll band. For another $60 Gino's Pizza Parlor would deliver pizza and cokes to the gym. Add another $20 for decorations, and he could bring off the dance for $155.

Florethia, Ginger, Ramon, and Jason walked into the meeting room and sat down. "Well," Bill said, "We've got to decide tonight what to do about the dance. That is, if we're to have time to get everything done that has to be done. Anyone here got an idea about what we ought to do?"

- -

The preceding examples, Cases A and B, fit our definition of politics very well. In both examples, people are participating in activities through which resources are distributed in a group.

In Case A, the neighborhood political club is deciding how much money to give to Leroy's campaign to become mayor. If Leroy is elected they'll expect him to use the power of the mayor's office to give them something in return.

In Case B, the dance committee is deciding how much money to spend and what to spend it on. Their decisions are about (1) what resources to give or withhold and (2) whom should receive the resources they decide to spend. Some people are bound to be more or less happy no matter what decision they make. However, the committee members are trying to make a decision that will satisfy the greatest number of those whom they represent.

Types of Participant Roles

People who take part in political activities, such as those described in Cases A and B, may play different roles. A role is a way of acting in a group. Some people perform the role of leader. They organize group activities and try to get things done. The President of a club does this when he or she holds meetings or plans for a dance, fund-raising or other activities. Often, however, leaders are less obvious. A leader in a group of friends may decide what the group will do after school or on a Saturday night.

There are many roles people can take other than the leader role. In fact, most people in groups are not leaders. This is good, because groups need many more types of people in order to get things done. A list of possible roles people take is given below.

Political Participant Roles

1. Organizer roles. These people are leaders. They try to plan and organize group activities.

2. Advocate roles. These people take a side to an issue and try to get others to agree with their position. They do not organize the group. They try to state a position that the group might agree with on an issue or activity.

3. Facilitator roles. These people try to help the group to come to some conclusion about an issue or activity. A facilitator tries to help people to understand others' points of view and to keep the group happy in its work. A facilitator is a "peace-maker" in a group.

4. Supporter roles. These people help to carry out an activity. They make arrangements or provide labor to get things done. Supporters are always the backbone of any group. Without them very little would be accomplished.

5. Observer roles. These people watch a group without actively participating in its activities.

In Case A, Michael played the role of organizer. He seemed to be running the meeting, to be making the decisive moves in the group. Michael tends to play an organizer role in other situations also. He usually assigns duties to other members of the group, and he tends to supervise the work of other members. As leader of the group, Michael also gets people to carry out decisions and to achieve group objectives.

In Case A, both Larry and Mary were playing the advocate role. Larry tried to get the group to donate $2,000 to Leroy's campaign. Mary argued against Larry's idea and presented an alternative to it. Both Larry and Mary were advancing and supporting points of view that they wanted the group to accept.

In this case, Susie played the role of facilitator. She tried to prevent a conflict from erupting between Mary and Larry and to prevent Mary from carrying out her threat to leave the group. Susie set the stage for Michael's move to have the group reach a decision that they could all accept.

One might suppose that once a decision has been made about how much money to donate to Leroy's campaign, all, or nearly all, of the political club's members will become <u>supporters</u> of the decision.

Look at the following set of pictures. What roles are being played by the different political participants?

Activity B-2: Observing Political Activities

People play political roles everyday in your school and in your community outside the school. One way to study this political activity is to observe it. If you want to know what roles participants play, how and why they play these roles, and the consequences of their political participation, you might try to watch and hear people in action.

Gathering information first-hand, through observation, enables you to see and hear things as they happen. You don't have to depend on someone else's memory or interpretation about what happened. Rather, you can see and hear what happened for yourself and make your own interpretation of the event. Thus, you can have more confidence that you are obtaining accurate and complete information.

Observing the Dance Committee in Action

Practice using observation as a way of learning about political activity by watching students in your class play particular roles. Begin this assignment by rereading Case B -- "The Dance Committee Decides" -- on pages 18 to 20.

After you reread the case, your teacher will assign the roles of each participant in this group to someone in your class. Each participant in the role play activity will receive a role card telling him/her how to play the role. Those not selected to play roles in the committee meeting are to act as observers. The teacher will divide the class into two observer groups. The teacher will provide Observation Groups 1 and 2 with instructions about how to gather and record information about what is seen and heard.

Following the role play exercise, your teacher will hold a discussion about what you observed and learned from this lesson.

The Importance of the Observation Record

The following case shows the importance of making observations carefully and systematically in terms of an "observation record," such as Group 1 used in the preceding role play exercise.

The Lakeville School Board Case

The Lakeville School Board held a very important meeting to consider whether or not to build a new high school gymnasium. The meeting was held in the Lakeville High School assembly room and more than 500 people were there. Among the spectators was Ric Carson, a reporter of the Lakeville Sentinel, a local newspaper. Following is an excerpt from Ric's newspaper article about the meeting.

School Board Ramrods Decision

> The Lakeville School Board voted unanimously last night to build a new high school gym. As in the past, the board members disregarded public opinion.
>
> Many people in the audience were opposed to a new gym. A few of them spoke against it, but were ignored by the board members. The board chairman, Sam Givens, prevented anyone from speaking more than three minutes.

Another member of the audience was Marty Murphy, a reporter for The Splash, the student newspaper at Lakeville High. Following is a part of Marty's newspaper article about the meeting.

Lakers Get New Gym

> On Monday night, the School Board voted to build a new gym for our high school. The basketball fans, including Mayor Tolbert, are very pleased about the decision.
>
> A few people at the meeting spoke against the gym, but no one paid much attention to them. Mr. Givens, the School Board Chairman, was very fair in giving everyone an equal amount of time to express ideas. Some people spoke very strongly in favor of the gym.

The two reports of the School Board meeting are quite different. Which one is correct? Without more information, it is impossible for us to know which article is more accurate. What we do know is that two people, who observed the same event, saw the event very differently and wrote very different reports of that event.

Ric Carson and Marty Murphy met several days after the School Board meeting to talk about their different observations of the meeting. Following are a few of the words they exchanged.

Marty: I really disagree with your article about the School Board meeting. I think the people of this community are all for the new gym. And Mr. Givens ran the meeting very fairly.

Ric: That's not the way I saw it, Marty. Givens could have let the opponents of the gym speak more freely.

Marty: But Mr. Givens treated everyone equally. No one could speak longer than three minutes.

Ric: But three minutes wasn't enough time to present complete arguments. It was important for the anti-gym forces to have more time to talk, since the Board members were already biased in favor of the new gym.

Marty: Mr. Givens is a very democratic School Board Chairman. He conducts the meetings according to the rules. Everyone is treated equally.

Ric: Givens uses the rules to ram his ideas down the throats of the people. He may look like a fair leader, but he always seems to get his way.

As shown by both the newspaper articles and this conversation, Ric and Marty interpreted the issue of the new gym and the leadership style of the School Board very differently. It is likely that the two reports of the school board meeting would have been more similar if both observers had looked at the meeting in a similar way, according to the same categories. The "Observation Record," which Group 1 used in the role play activity, is a means

for helping different observers look at the same event in a similar way. For example, everyone who uses the "Observation Record" to observe a meeting of a school club will be looking for the same things.

Using a well-designed "observation record" can also help you to compare your observations with those of other people who have used the same instrument. For example, one might compare several observations of leadership in the Science Club with several observations of leadership in the Drama Club if both sets of observations are made in terms of the same "observation record." If very different "observation records" are used to look at political events, then one cannot meaningfully compare the observations.

PART C: A SYSTEMIC VIEW OF POLITICS

Part C is designed to help you answer these questions:

(1) What is a system?

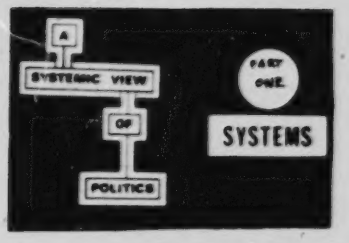
(2) What is a political system?

(3) How can you use a model of a political system to analyze political behavior?

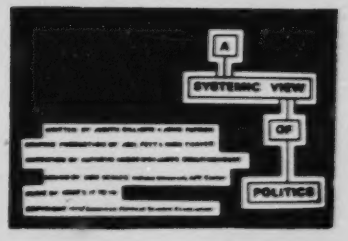
Activity C-1: What is a Political System?

This activity is based on ideas and information presented via a "slide-tape." That is, a set of picture slides with an accompanying audio-tape. Several exercises, which are keyed to the "slide-tape," appear on the following pages.

Your teacher will conduct this activity by showing the "slide-tape" and by directing your efforts to do the exercises. At several points in the "slide-tape" presentation, your teacher will stop the "show" and will require you to do an exercise before the "slide-tape" is started again. By completing these exercises, you can demonstrate that you are learning the important ideas presented in the "slide-tape."



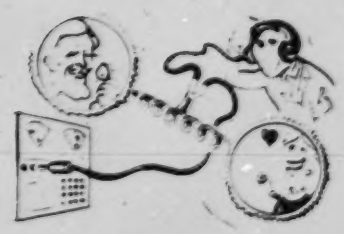
1. Title: A Systemic View of Politics



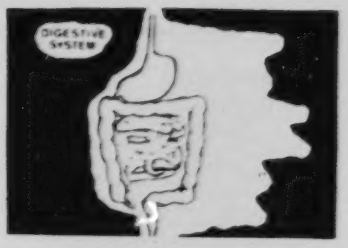
2. Credits

3. What do you think of when you hear the word system?

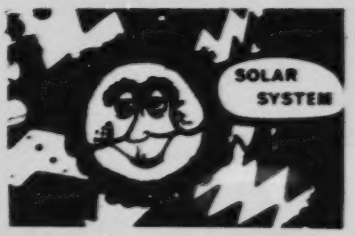
4. Let's see....a grading system....



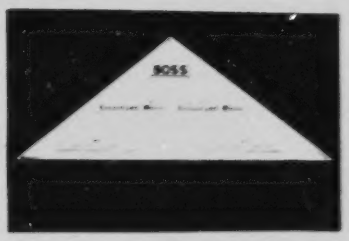
5. a communication system!....



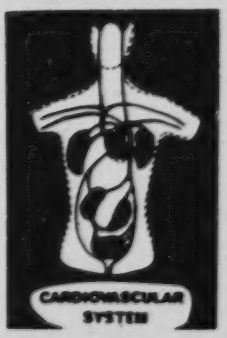
6. my digestive system!!



7. Another example is the nine planets which revolve around the sun, which make a Solar System.



8. An organizational chart of a business corporation is a kind of social system.



9. The blood which flows through your body is pumped through a cardiovascular system.

WHAT are the
COMMON FEATURES
of
ALL Systems??

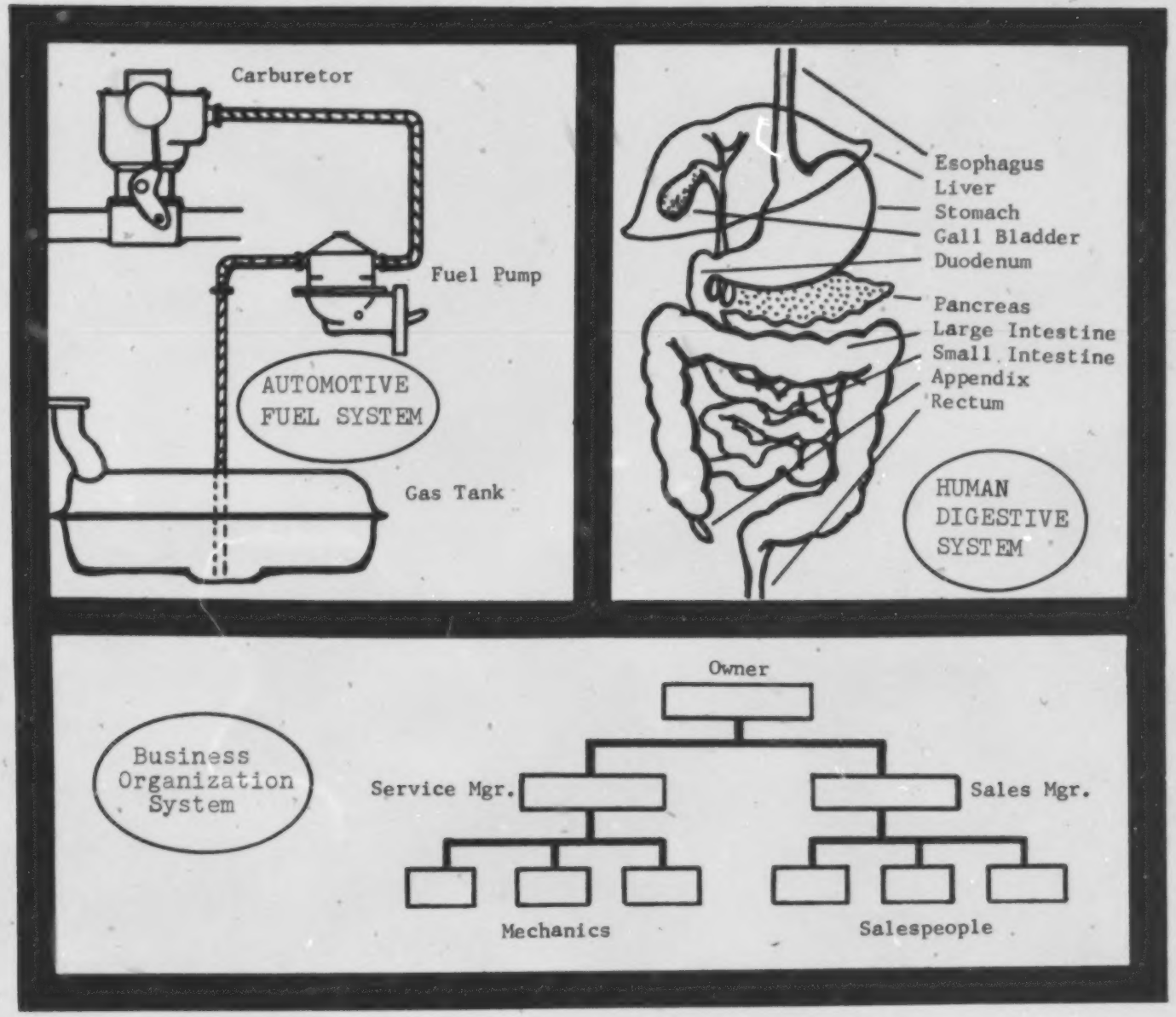
10. It's hard to believe that my digestive system has something in common with a business organization or the solar system. What are the common features of all systems?

11. Stop the slide-tape and turn to exercise 1 in your textbook. Try to complete this exercise about the meaning of systems.

- -

Exercise 1: What Is A System?

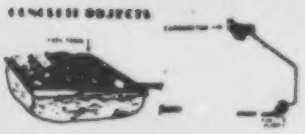
The three pictures below are examples of systems. What are the common features of the three systems shown below?



12. One main feature of any system is: Relationships between parts. The objects in group A are related--they are a stereo system. The objects in group B are not related--they are not a system.

13. Is this an example of a system? This is not a system. It's a mixed-up pile of junk. There are no relationships or links between the things in this picture.

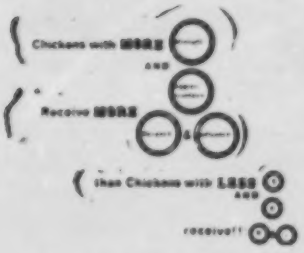
14. Is this a system?
These objects are a system. They are related to each other as different parts of a money system.



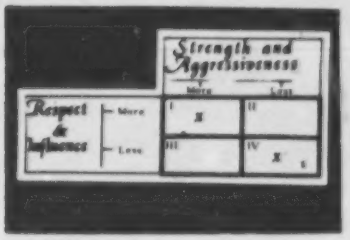
15. The examples of systems which we've seen so far have shown relationships between concrete parts. That is, between physical objects such as the carburetor, fuel pump and gas tank of an automotive fuel system.

16. However, we can also think about systems abstractly. That is, we can think of a system as involving relationships between ideas rather than concrete parts. For example, the ideas of strength, aggressiveness, respect and influence can be related to form a system.

17. Then we can apply the ideas of strength, aggressiveness, respect and influence to, say, the relationships between chickens in a barnyard. Scientists have discovered that chickens form social systems based on differences in strength, aggressiveness, respect and influence.



18. Chickens with more aggressiveness and strength have more influence and receive more respect than those with less of these qualities. Thus, they have a higher rank in a barnyard social system.



19. Yes, this diagram is another way to show the relationship. An X is placed in Box I to show that those with more strength and aggressiveness have more influence and receive more respect. An X is placed in Box IV to show that chickens with less aggressiveness and strength have less influence and respect. These chickens have the lower ranks in the barnyard social system!

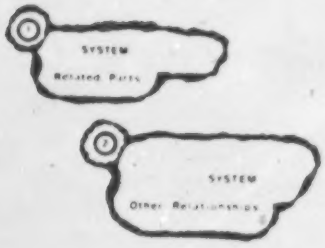
20. The higher and lower ranks in the barnyard social system are expressed through pecking rights. For example, Chicken 1 is the dominant member of this barnyard social system. This "Chief Chicken" is more strong and aggressive than others in this social system.

21. Thus, Chicken 1 has the right to peck or otherwise dominate Chicken 2.

22. And Chicken 2 is more strong and aggressive than all others except #1. Thus, Chicken 2 can peck #3, but not #1.

23. It follows that Chicken 3 can peck #4, but not #1 or 2!
And Chicken 4 can peck only number 5.

24. And poor Chicken 5 hasn't the right to peck any of the other birds! This chicken has less strength and aggressiveness than all others in the social system. Thus, he has less respect and influence than others in the system.



25. All right, so all systems have relationships among parts. What else? A second main characteristic of a system is that certain relationships among parts of the system imply other relationships. For example, the relationships we have described in the barnyard social system imply other relationships that have important consequences for members of the system.

26. Those with higher ranks have the right to eat first when the farmer brings their food. Thus, they have the opportunity to eat the best food and to eat more of it. Those with lower ranks get the leftovers.

27. So, then, as we've seen, the relationships between strength, aggressiveness, respect and influence imply relationships about eating rights.

28. Stop the slide-tape and turn to exercise 2 in your textbook. Try to use what you've learned about systems to complete this exercise.

- -

Exercise 2: Applying a Definition of System

Can you apply what you have learned from the "slide-tape" about the meaning of system? Test your understanding of this idea by answering the following questions.

a. Imagine a family that includes one pair of grandparents, a mother and a father who are the same age, two female children, ages 4 and 18, and two male children, ages 10 and 14. In this family those who are older have more respect and influence than do those who are younger.

   (1) What three ideas can be combined to form a system that can describe relationships between members of this family?

   (2) How can these three ideas be linked to describe relationships between members of this family? (Try to think of at least two examples.)

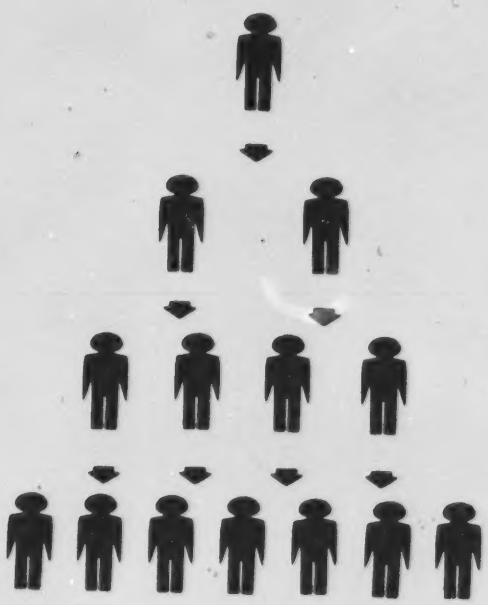
b. Look at the diagram on the following page of the relationships between people in a business organization. In this organization those with more wealth and knowledge have more respect and influence than do those with less wealth and knowledge.

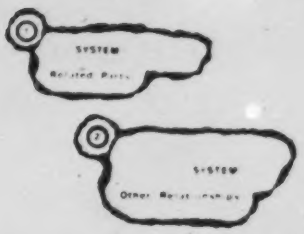
   (1) What four ideas can be connected to form a system that can describe relationships between members of this business organization?

   (2) In this business organization who has most to say about the rules of the organization? Who has least to say? Why? (Can you use the four ideas you identified in question (1) above to answer these questions about relationships between members of this organization?)

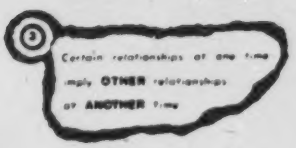
In this organization, those at the higher levels in the organization have more wealth and knowledge than do those at the lower levels.

Relationships Between Members of a Business Organization

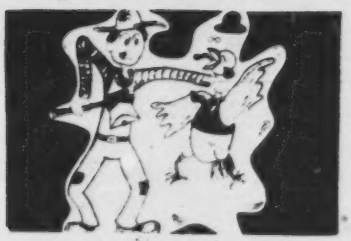




29. So far, we've identified two common characteristics or features or any system: 1. any system is made up of related parts. 2. certain relationships between parts of the system imply other relationships.



30. There's a third feature common to all systems: Certain relationships between parts of the system at one time imply the possibility of other relationships at another time.



31. Suppose Chicken 1 is chosen by the farmer to be his next meal. How will the departure of the "Chief Chicken" affect the barnyard social system?

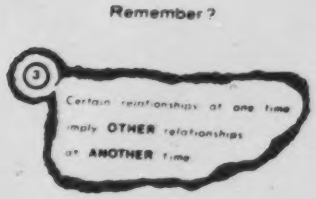
32. One possibility implied by the previous relationships is that Chicken 2 would become new "Chief Chicken", since this member of the social system has more aggressiveness and strength than the other remaining chickens.

33. The barnyard social system would remain basically the same. However, there would be a four-chicken pecking order with a new #1 chicken.

34. A second possibility is that two or more of the chickens will fight for the right to be new "Chief Chicken."

35. A result of this fighting might be confusion about who has control over whom. Perhaps two chickens might continue to clash for a long time over the right to be #1. This continual conflict would represent a basic change in the barnyard social system.

36. A third likely outcome is that the barnyard social system could fall apart with the departure of the "Chief Chicken." There could be other possible outcomes.



37. However, the main idea to remember here is the possibility of changes in the relationships between parts of a system.

38. So far we've looked at three features of any system:
    1. that any system is made up of related parts;
    2. that certain relationships between parts of the system imply other relationships;
    3. that certain relationships at one time imply other relationships at another time.

39. Stop the slide-tape now, and turn to exercise 3 in your textbook. Try to apply what you've learned about systems.

Exercise 3: Thinking About What Happens to A System Over Time

Can you apply what you've learned from the "slide-tape" to what might happen to a system over time? Consider the following possibilities concerning the barnyard social system described in the slide tape.

a. Which of these changes is more likely to happen with the departure of the chief chicken?

   (1) Chicken #2 will become the new chief chicken

   (2) Chicken #3 will become the new chief chicken

   (3) Chicken #4 will become the new chief chicken

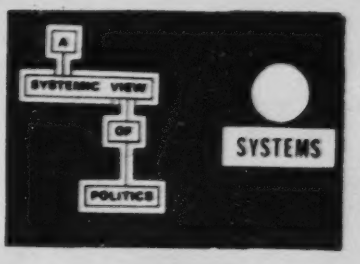
   (4) Chicken #5 will become the new chief chicken

b. Can you use the related ideas of aggressiveness, strength, respect, and influence to explain your answer to question "a" above?

c. When you answered question "b" above, did you use the ideas of aggressiveness, strength, respect, and influence as a system? Why?

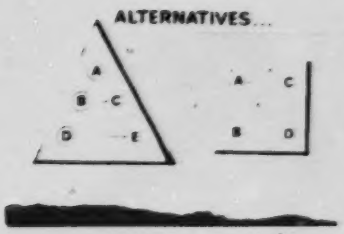
d. Did your answer to question "a" above describe a basic change in the barnyard social system? That is, did the relationships based on aggressiveness, strength, influence, and respect change basically?

e. What if two or more chickens continue to fight over "pecking rights" in the barnyard social system? Would this be a basic change in the system? (Use the ideas of aggressiveness, strength, respect, and influence to explain your answer to this question.)



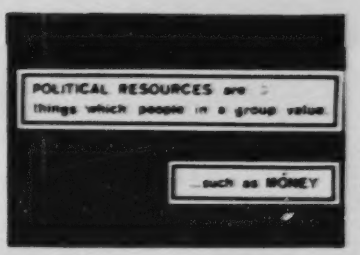
40. Part II. Title: What Is A Political System?

41. You've identified three main features of any system..and you've looked at several different examples of systems. Any questions? What about politics? Are there political systems? Are people who take part in politics parts of a system?



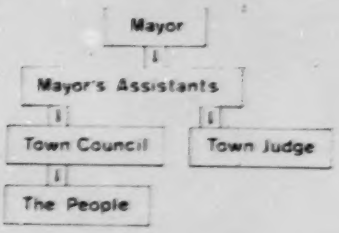
42. Yes, political life can be viewed as a system! What are the main parts of a political system? How are these parts related?

43. Well, our definition of politics includes two main parts of any political system. You recall that we've defined politics as activities through which resources are distributed in a group. According to our definition, any political system includes both resources and activities. What are resources?



44. Resources are things which people in a group value. Money, when used for a political purpose, is an example of a political resource.

45. Money is being used here as an election campaign contribution. The contributor is hoping to influence the candidate.

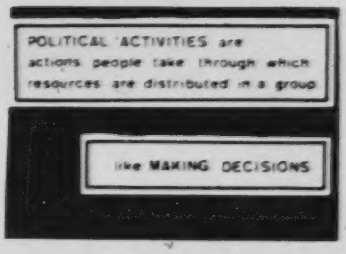


46. Status, one's position in a group, is another example of a political resource. In this city government, the mayor has the highest status.

47. As the number one person in this group, he has the most prestige and influence.

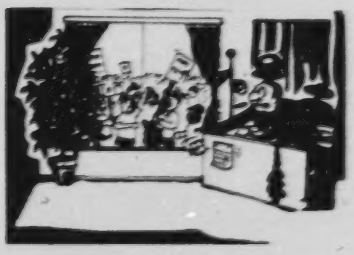
48. He can use his high status to command the support of others in his group.

49. Some other political resources are knowledge and skills. This politician is using his knowledge and skill as a speaker to influence the audience to support him.


POLITICAL ACTIVITIES are actions people take through which resources are distributed in a group
like MAKING DECISIONS

50. According to our definition of politics, political activities are a second main part of any political system. Right! Political activities are what people do to distribute resources in a group. One example of a political activity is participation in decision-making about the distribution of resources.

51. This public official has decided to give resources to one group and to withhold them from another group.

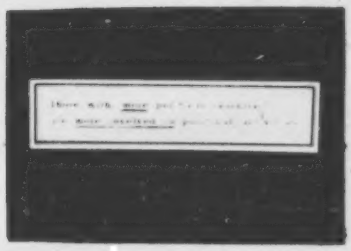


52. Another example of political activity is trying to influence those who make decisions. These protestors are trying to influence their mayor to make a decision that favors them.

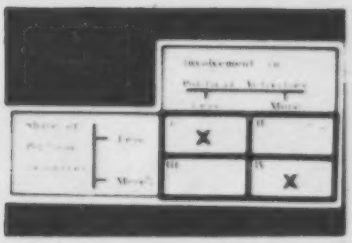
53. This group leader is trying to influence the mayor to ignore the protestors.

54. If we are to view political life as a system, we must show that political resources and political activities are linked. And, we must show how relationships between resources and activities affect political life in a group.

55. What is the relationship between political activities and resources in this example? In this example, those with more resources are more involved in political activities than are those with less resources.

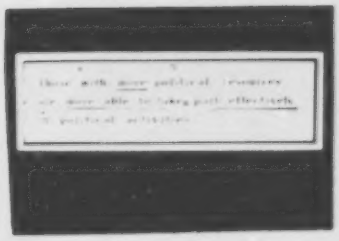


56. This example relates a group's share of the resources in a system to the group's involvement in political activities of the system.

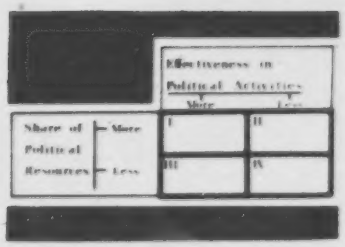


57. This diagram is another way to show this link between resources and activities in a political system. An X is placed in Box I to show that people with few resources are less involved in politics. An X is placed in Box IV to show that people with more resources are more involved in politics.

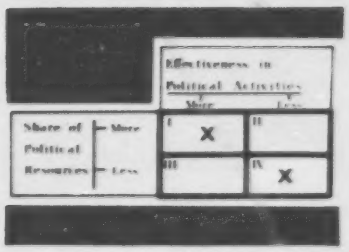
58. What is the relationship between political activities and resources in this situation?



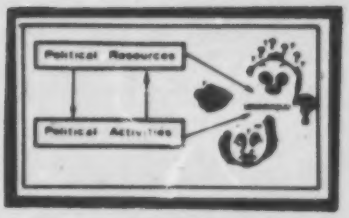
59. In this example, people with more resources are more able to take part effectively in political activities.



60. Where should marks be placed in this diagram to show this relationship between resources and activities?



61. An X should be placed in Box I to show that people with more resources participate more effectively in political activities. An X should be placed in Box IV to show that people with fewer resources are less likely to participate effectively in politics.



62. What are the implications of this relationship that we've seen between resources and activities? What consequences might it have for people in a political system?

63. One consequence is that those with more resources are likely to have more say about who gets or doesn't get important things and how much they get. Thus those with fewer resources are likely to be at the bottom of the system.

64. Those with few resources may find it difficult to have much influence in a political system.

65. Stop the slide-tape and turn to exercise 4. Try to apply the idea of a system to examples of political life in this exercise.

Exercise 4: Relating Political Resources to Political Activities

We have defined politics as activities through which resources are distributed in a system. According to our definition, two parts of any political system are: (1) political resources and (2) political activities.

Political resources are things which people in a group value.

Political activities are actions people take through which resources are distributed in a group.

If we are to view politics as a system, we must show that the two main parts of any political system are related in one or more ways.

a. The diagram below can help you to see one relationship between political resources and activities.

Share of Political Resources	Involvement in Political Activities: Less	Involvement in Political Activities: More
Less	I	II
More	III	IV

Where should check marks be made in Diagram 1 to indicate correctly a relationship of political resources to political activities? Use the following statements to guide your placement of checkmarks in the diagram.

I. If those with less political resources are less involved in political activities, then place a checkmark in Box I.

II. If those with less political resources are more involved in political activities, then place a checkmark in Box II.

III. If those with more political resources are less involved in political activities, then place a checkmark in Box III.

IV. If those with more political resources are more involved in political activities, then place a checkmark in Box IV.

b. Can you supply evidence to support or reject the following statements about the relationship of political resources to political activities?

(1) Those who are more able to participate effectively in political activities are more likely to increase their share of the political resources in a system.

____Supported ____Rejected

What is your evidence for supporting or rejecting this statement?

(2) Those who are less able to participate effectively in political activities are less likely to increase their share of the political resources.

____Supported ____Rejected

What is your evidence for supporting or rejecting this statement?

c. Where should checkmarks be placed in the diagram to indicate correctly a relationship of political resources to political activity? Why?

Share of Political Resources	Effectiveness in Political Activities: Less	Effectiveness in Political Activities: More
More	I	II
Less	III	IV

d. The relationships between resources and activities imply particular relationships for political life in a system. To show that you understand this idea, state the implications for political life that stem from the relationship of resources to activities as stated below in items (a) and (b).

(1) (a) Those with more resources are able to participate more effectively in political activities in a system than those with less resources.

(b) In Steel City the mayor and his assistants have more political resources than any other group in the system.

(c) Therefore, in Steel City:_____

_____

_____

_____

Why is your statement 1 (c) an implication of statements 1 (a) and 1 (b)?

(2) (a) Those with less resources are less able to participate effectively in political activities in a system than those with more resources.

(b) The manual laborers in Steel City have less resources than any other group in the system.

(c) Therefore, the manual laborers in Steel City:_____

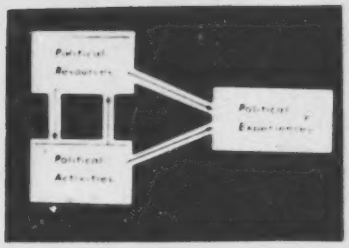
_____

_____

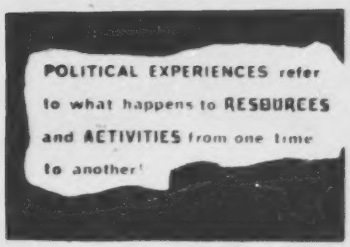
_____

Why is your statement 2 (c) an implication of statements 2 (a) and 2 (b)?

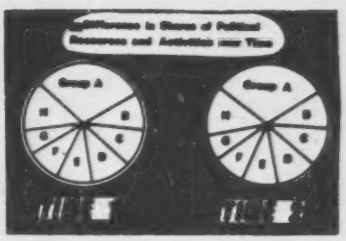
66. It seems that those who have most resources are in a good position to get more resources, while those with few resources are often unable to improve their position. But do things have to stay this way? Can a political system change?



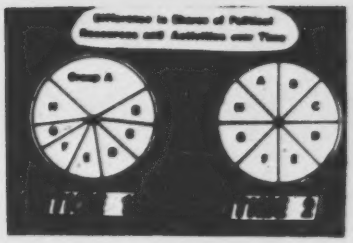
67. To answer these questions, we can connect the two main parts of any political system (resources and activities) to a third part: political experiences. What are political experiences? What do they have to do with whether a political system changes or stays the same?



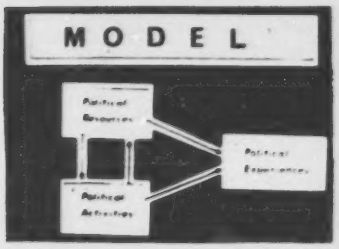
68. Political experiences refer to what happens to resources and activities from one time to another.



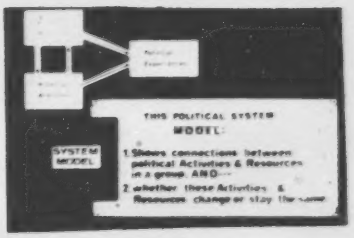
69. Often the political activities and resources in a system mostly remain the same from one time to another. However, sometimes there are basic changes in a system.



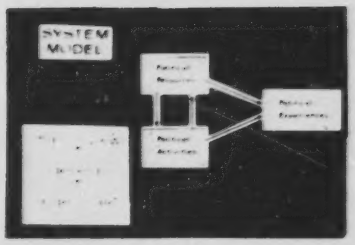
70. At time 1, Group A dominates the system overwhelmingly. This group has the most resources and the most involvement in political activities. However, the system has changed basically at time 2. Group A no longer dominates the political system. Political resources and activities are shared more equally. These changes in resources and activities add-up to "basic change" in a political system. We look at political life as a system when we connect political activities, resources and experiences!



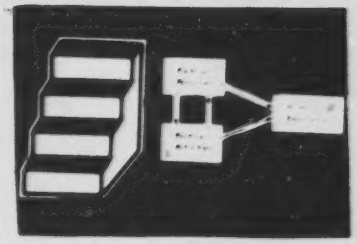
71. The related parts of a political system can be thought of as a model...that is, a set of ideas that can help us to describe and explain political life.



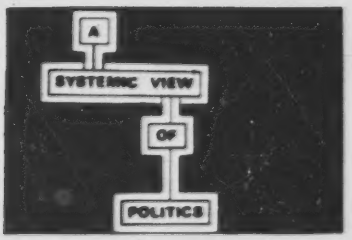
72. When we use this model to study political life, we do these two things: 1. We show connections between political activities and resources in a group, and 2. We look at whether political activities and resources in a group change...or stay the same.



73. This political systems model gives us a general, large scale, view of political life...what we call a macro-view.



74. A major purpose of our studies of politics is to compare political activities, resources and experiences of many different groups of people. For instance, our political system model can be used to compare political activities and resources in different international organizations, in different countries, and in different cities. It also can be used to compare political life in different schools or neighborhood groups.



75. During the remainder of this course, you'll have opportunities to learn about political activities and resources among different groups. And, you'll find out for yourself the value of applying a systemic view of politics to your political world.

Activity C-2: Analyzing A Political System

Can you use what you have learned about political systems to describe and explain political life? Following is a case study about politics in a small city in south Texas. Try to apply what you have learned about political activities, resources and experiences to analyze this case.

Doing this task provides practice in using ideas that are basic parts of a political system. These ideas can be keys to a fuller understanding of your political world.

Who Gets What in Crystal City? (and how they get it)

Crystal City is a small, hot, dusty southwestern Texas farm town. A larger-than-life statue of Popeye holding a can of spinach stands in front of the city hall. Growing and processing spinach is the town's major source of income.

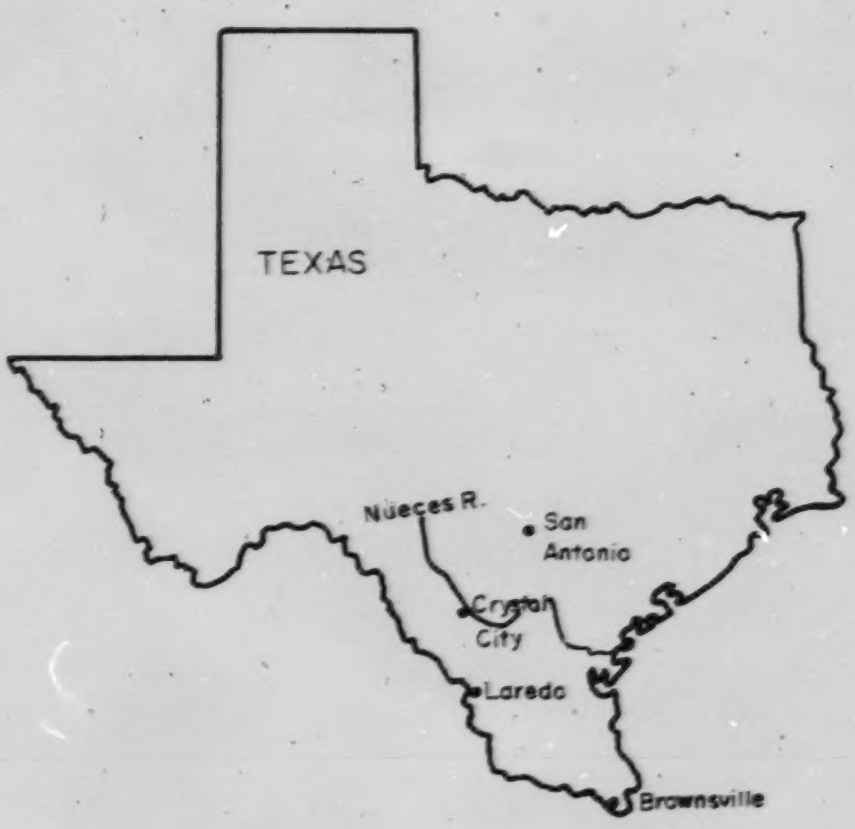
A railroad track on the main street divides the Chicano* and Anglo** communities of Crystal City. More than ninety percent of the people are Chicanos.

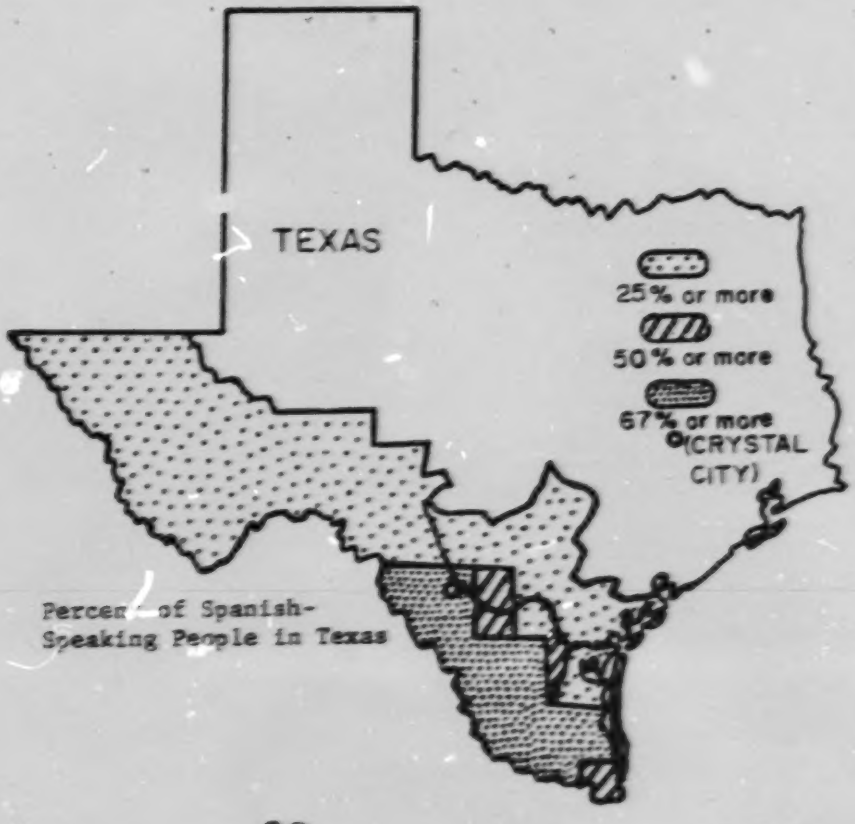
Until 1963, few people in other parts of Texas paid much attention to Crystal City. But since then, political observers have been keenly interested.

---

*Chicanos are people of both Spanish and Indian heritage. Although its origins are obscure, Chicano seems to be a short way of saying Mexicano. Some people use Mexican-American and Chicano interchangeably. Others prefer to use one label rather than the other. In this case, Chicano is used since this is what the main political actors in Crystal City have called themselves.

**In the southwest, those that are neither Chicanos, Indians, or black are called Anglos.


TEXAS
Nueces R.
San Antonio
Crystal City
Laredo
Brownsville


TEXAS
25% or more
50% or more
67% or more
(CRYSTAL CITY)
Percent of Spanish-Speaking People in Texas

Political Life in Crystal City, 1963

In 1963, the small Anglo minority dominated all facets of life in Crystal City. The Anglos held all the top government jobs. They owned 95 percent of the businesses and more than 95 percent of the farms in the area.

Anglos made all the important decisions. As a consequence, there was vast inequality in public services. Anglos had paved sidewalks and streets while the barrio (the Chicano neighborhood) did not. There was sewage service in the Anglo community, but not in the barrio. The Chicanos were allowed to use the city swimming pool only one day each week. Only Anglos were selected for the police force. The public schools catered to the interests and needs of the Anglo minority. Chicanos were not even allowed to speak Spanish in classrooms or schoolyards.

Most Chicanos dropped out of school before graduating. They were prepared only to work as laborers for Anglo ranchers, farmers, or businessmen. The median level of education for Chicanos over 25 years old was 2.3 grades in school completed.* Most Anglos graduated from high school.

Most Chicanos earned very little money and enjoyed few comforts. Their median yearly income was only $1,754. It was much higher for Anglos. Most homes in the barrio neighborhood were wooden shacks while on the other side of the tracks, in the Anglo neighborhood, there were mostly well-built, middle class homes and a few large expensive homes.

---

*The median number means one half are above and one half are below the number.

Family Dwelling in the Anglo Neighborhood

Family Dwelling in the Barrio

Chicanos were discouraged from participating in politics. Many could not afford to pay the $1.75 poll tax required to be eligible to vote.* Others were hesitant to participate in the face of pressures from their Anglo bosses. It was not unusual for Chicanos to lose their jobs for taking part in politics against the wishes of their employers.

Use the following questions to help you describe the political system in Crystal City at the beginning of 1963.

1. Political Resources

Which of the following statements best describe the distribution of political resources in Crystal City at the beginning of 1963?
(Check one answer.)

____a. Mostly possessed by Anglos, very little for Chicanos

____b. Larger share possessed by Anglos, smaller share for Chicanos

____c. Resources shared about equally between Anglos and Chicanos

____d. Larger share possessed by Chicanos, smaller share for Anglos

____e. Mostly possessed by Chicanos, very little for Anglos

2. Political Activities

Which of the following statements best describes political activities in Crystal City at the beginning of 1963?
(Check one answer.)

____a. Anglos mostly involved, little or no Chicano involvement

____b. Anglos more involved, but Chicanos somewhat involved, too

____c. About equal involvement of Anglos and Chicanos

____d. Chicanos more involved, but Anglos somewhat involved, too

____e. Chicanos mostly involved, little or no Anglo involvement

---

*Payment of a poll tax as a requirement to vote was made illegal by passage of the 24th Amendment to the United States Constitution in 1964.

3. Political Control

Which of the following statements best describes who controlled the political system of Crystal City at the beginning of 1963?

(Check one answer.)

____a. Anglos in complete control

____b. Anglos mostly in control, but they gave-in occasionally to Chicano demands

____c. Anglos and Chicanos shared control

____d. Chicanos mostly in control, but they gave-in occasionally to Anglo demands

____e. Chicanos in complete control

Explain your answer. Apply what you have learned about the relationship of political activities and resources to this explanation.

The Crystal City Election, 1963

In the spring of 1963, political life changed in Crystal City. For the first time, a large number of Chicanos registered to vote and participated actively in a city election. They elected a Chicano mayor and an all-Chicano city council. How did this happen?

Part of the change was due to the local branch of the Teamster's Union. Its 300 members were the only unionized Chicano laborers in Crystal City. Unlike most other Chicanos, they could participate without fear of losing their jobs. The local Teamsters asked the political director for the Teamsters in Fort Worth and the executive secretary of PASO (Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Americans) from San Antonio to help them organize Crystal City Chicanos into a powerful political force.

Preparations for the city elections began in January. With the advice of Teamster and PASO political experts, union members began to canvass the barrio, learning who was registered to vote. Next they launched a drive to encourage Chicanos to pay the poll tax and to register to vote. At special voter clinics illiterate Chicanos learned to tell the Anglo from the Chicano names on the ballot so that they would choose the "right" candidates. An organization called the Committee for Better Government was formed. It selected a slate of Chicano candidates and began to campaign aggressively for them.

At first the Anglos were unconcerned. They had always held power, and they thought their relationships to the Mexican-American community had been good. But, a few weeks before the election in April, the Anglos began to worry.

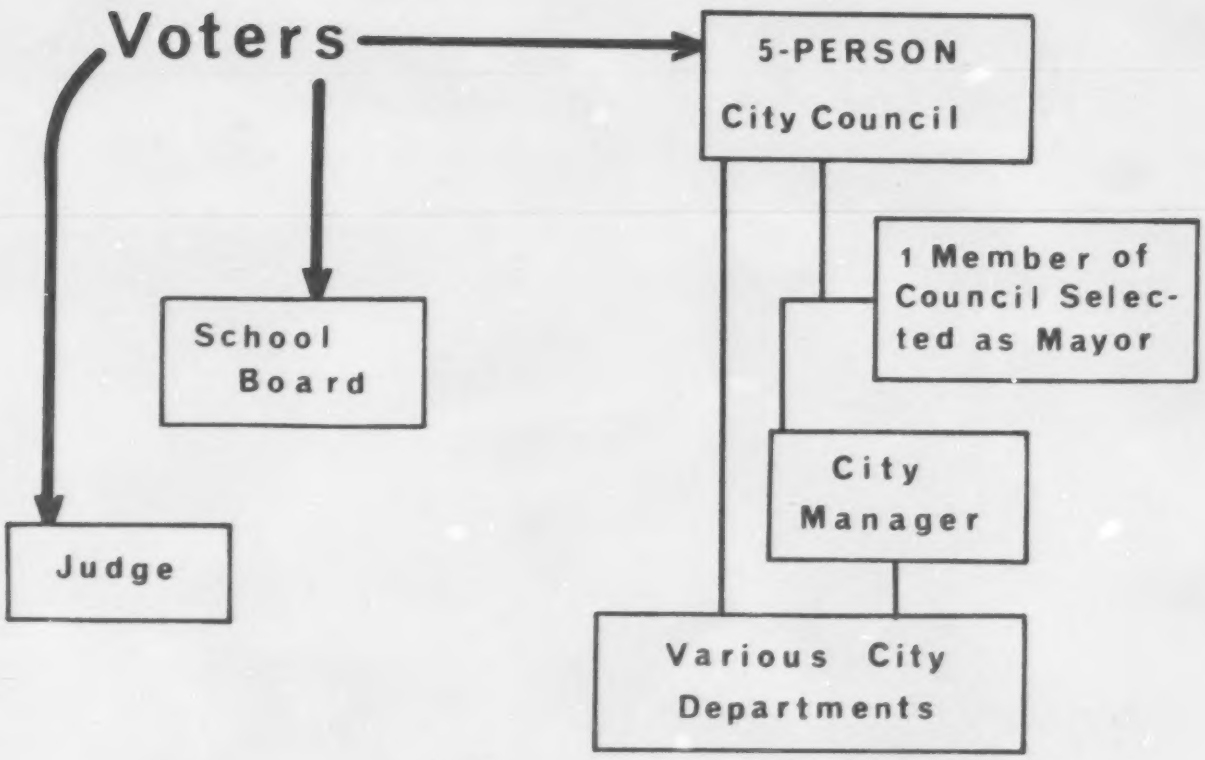
Some Anglo leaders created obstacles for their challengers. They made it difficult for Chicanos to file as candidates for office. The City Council tried to reduce the number of polling places, to put restrictions on a secret ballot, and to ban the Chicano sound truck, which was used to advertise the Chicano candidates. In each case the Citizens Committee for Better Government threatened to seek a court ruling against the City Council. These threats worked, and the Council's plans were called off.

As election day approached many feared violence. Texas Rangers were called in to enforce law and order. But no violence occurred; the election was held; and the Citizens Committee slate won by a margin of more than 100 votes. Control of government in Crystal City passed to the Chicanos.

The new city government consisted of five Chicano councilmen, one of whom was selected to be mayor. The mayor and council then selected a Chicano, George Orzuna, to be city manager.

Food Processing Plant Where Many Chicanos Worked

The plan for government in Crystal City called for a weak mayor and council and a strong city manager. (See the diagram below.) The council, with the mayor's leadership, had the responsibility for making laws and setting the general direction for the city government. The city manager had the duty of enforcing laws and managing the city government's business and services.



Organization of Government in Crystal City

The election of April, 1963 had been the largest in Crystal City history. Ordinarily, only about 500 people (mostly Anglos) would have voted. However, in this election 1,752 people (mostly Chicanos) voted. The Chicanos celebrated their victory for two days.

But, the election had other consequences. An Anglo owner of a vegetable processing plant announced he was moving to another city. One of the newly elected councilmen found that his Anglo employer cut his salary. Another councilman was fired from his job by his Anglo employer. Some Chicanos who had campaigned openly for the Citizens Committee candidates lost their jobs.

The Chicanos found it easier to win the election than to govern successfully. The new city manager was very skilled. But the new mayor and councilmen were uneducated and inexperienced. They knew very little about how to run a government. In addition, it was difficult to find skilled, experienced Chicanos to fill important government jobs. For too many years Chicanos had been forced to watch politics as spectators from the sidelines. Now that they had become coaches and players in the game, there were too few who knew the rules and had the necessary knowledge and skills. Many voters became unhappy with the people they had helped to elect.

Although the Chicanos had won a sweeping election victory, they found out they were still weaker politically than the Anglos, who retained control over most of the jobs, money, and property in Crystal City. The Anglos used these resources to pressure the Chicano government officials to do what they wanted.

The Chicanos also made an important mistake. They disbanded the political organization which had been a key to victory in the election. They didn't realize that organized political activity by many citizens is as

important between elections as it is during an election.

An effective political organization is needed to help elected officials to overcome opposition to carrying-out their political objectives. In Crystal City, organized political action was needed to help the new Chicano officials to oppose the Anglo property owners. Without this support, the Chicano officials had very little power to make basic changes in Crystal City.

Soon after the election, the Anglos formed a political organization called Citizens Association Serving All Americans (CASAA). Some Chicanos, who would follow the Anglos' orders were allowed to join the group. In 1965, CASAA sponsored a slate of candidates, mostly Chicanos who wanted to cooperate with Anglos. This organization of Anglos and vendidos (Chicanos who "sell out" to the opposition) won the election. The new city government included a Chicano mayor, four Chicano councilmen, and an Anglo city manager. They were controlled by the leading Anglos.

In the past, the Anglo minority had ruled through threats, job pressures, and creation of apathy among the Chicano majority. After 1963, they changed their political strategy to stress co-optation. That is, they tried to win the loyalty and cooperation of Mexicans who wanted to do things the Anglo way. They planned to elect "good" Mexicans to the top positions in city government. But, behind the scenes, the Anglo leaders would continue to hold the real power and to run the city. From 1963 to 1969, this strategy worked.

Use the following questions to help you compare the political system in Crystal City in 1963 and 1969.

1. Which of the following statements best describes similarities or differences in the distribution of political resources in Crystal City from 1963 to 1969?

(Check one answer.)

____a. The Anglos had many more political resources in 1969 than in 1963.

____b. The Anglos had a few more political resources in 1969 than in 1963.

____c. There was little or no difference in the distribution of political resources from one time to another.

____d. The Chicanos had a few more political resources in 1969 than in 1963.

____e. The Chicanos had many more political resources in 1969 than in 1963.

2. Which of the following statements best describes similarities or differences in the political activities of Anglos and Chicanos in Crystal City from 1963 to 1969?

(Check one answer.)

____a. Anglos much more involved than before

____b. Anglos a little more involved than before

____c. There was little or no difference in the political activities of either Anglos or Chicanos

____d. Chicanos a little more involved than before

____e. Chicanos much more involved than before

3. Which of the following statements best describes similarities or differences in who controlled the political system of Crystal City in 1963 and 1969?

(Check one answer.)

____a. Anglos gained much more control.

____b. Anglos gained a little more control.

____c. There was little or no difference in control.

____d. Chicanos gained a little more control.

____e. Chicanos gained much more control.

Explain your answer. Apply what you have learned about the relationship of political activities and resources to this explanation.

4. Did the political system in Crystal City change basically from 1963 to 1969 or did it stay mostly the same from one time to another? Explain. Apply what you have learned about political experiences (what happens to political activities and resources from one time to another) to this explanation.

The Birth and Growth of La Raza Unida, 1970-1975

In 1969, José Angel Gutiérrez returned to Crystal City, where he had been born and raised. Anglos pointed to him as an example of a "good" Mexican. Gutiérrez had been a billiant student and a popular leader. He had been president of the 1962 senior class of Crystal City High School.

Gutiérrez had spent five years at St. Mary's College in San Antonio where he earned a Master's degree in political science. He also won notice as the founder and leader of the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO).

Shortly after his return to Crystal City, Anglos stopped calling Gutiérrez a "good" Mexican. Instead they branded him an agitator and troublemaker. Some called him unpatriotic and a communist.

José Angel Gutiérrez's plans for social and political change had made Anglos angry. He had said that it was wrong for a handful of Anglos to control the lives of the large Chicano majority and that the Chicanos should have a part in making decisions that shaped their lives. ".... Mexicanos need to be in control of their destiny. They need to make their own decisions.... We have been complacent for too long."

Gutiérrez had three goals: (1) to bring government by majority rule to Crystal City; (2) to reform the public schools in Crystal City so that they would serve interests and needs of Chicanos as well as Anglos; and (3) to help more local Chicanos to become owners of farms and businesses.

Gutiérrez believed that achieving these goals would be the key to the Anglos' lock on the Chicanos' lives. He said: "There has never been equality between Anglos and Chicanos. Self-determination will not be attained until there is power on both sides."

Gutiérrez's first bid for power came in December, 1969 when a group of Chicano students began protesting their unfair treatment at Crystal City High School. They demanded the right to learn about Chicano history and literature. They said they wanted to read books written in Spanish as well as English. They wanted counselors and teachers to be hired who could speak both Spanish and English. They called for the end to biased selection of cheerleaders, baton twirlers, honor society members, etc. which favored the Anglo students.

Crystal City High School

When the school officials refused their demands, the Chicano students organized a "walk out." About 1,700 out of 2,300 students stayed out of school for more than a month to protest the denial of their demands. José Angel Gutiérrez helped the students to organize their "walk out" and to negotiate with school officials. The outcome was total victory for the Chicano students who won promises from school officials to fulfill all of their demands.

While the students were boycotting school, Gutiérrez organized them to register Chicano voters in preparation for the upcoming city elections in April, 1970. Gutiérrez and two Chicano friends, Arturo Gonzales and Miguel Perez, decided to run for membership on the local school board. Two other Chicano partners of Gutiérrez, Pablo Puentes and Ventura Gonzales, were running for election to the city council.

To support their efforts to win public office, Gutiérrez and his friends organized a new political party, La Raza Unida Partido (the United Race Party). Their opponents were Anglos and their allies, the Vendidos Chicanos who belonged to the local Democratic party. La Raza Unida Partido waged a vigorous campaign involving most of the young Chicanos in Crystal City. The Anglo leaders felt threatened for the first time since 1963. They tried to hamper La Raza in any way they could.

The Democratic party leaders tried to stop Pablo Puentes, La Raza candidate for City Council, from running for office by charging that he owned no property in Crystal City. A local law stated that only property owners could become elected public officials.

The La Raza leaders contested this law in the federal courts where it was declared unconstitutional.* Thus, Pablo Puentes was able to continue

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*Laws which violate, or go against, any part of the United States Constitution, may be declared null and void, or unconstitutional by federal judges.

his campaign for election to the city council.

Some Anglo ranchers and businessmen tried to pressure Chicanos not to support the La Raza candidates. They told Chicanos they could lose their jobs if they supported La Raza.

To counteract these pressures, the La Raza leaders asked observers from the federal government Civil Rights Commission to come to Crystal City to observe the election campaign and election day activities. These federal officials warned the La Raza opponents against illegal election tactics. They made sure the election was carried out according to the rules.

The result was a smashing victory for La Raza. Gutiérrez, Miguel Perez, and Arturo Gonzales won seats in the city council. Keys to the La Raza victory were (1) an effective voter registration drive which put almost every eligible Chicano on the voting lists, (2) effective legal action which prevented opponents from unfairly winning the election, and (3) an effective get-out-the vote campaign which prompted a record number of Chicanos to participate in the election.

However, Chicanos had won elections before in Crystal City without gaining any real power. Gutiérrez was determined not to allow this to happen again.

He planned to use La Raza as a political force between elections as well as during elections. His first move was to gain majority vote control of the school board which now included three Anglos, three members of La Raza, and one Chicano who had previously cooperated with the Anglos. The pressure of the well-organized La Raza members persuaded the non-La Raza Chicano to join forces with Gutiérrez.

The La Raza leaders used control of the school board to reform the public schools to serve their needs. Following are some of the school reforms that have been achieved since 1971:

(1) Instruction in both Spanish and English from kindergarten through third grade;

(2) Free breakfast and lunch program for all students;

(3) Addition of Chicano literature and history to the curriculum;

(4) Firing of several teachers who had shown bias against Chicano students;

(5) Hiring of new teachers who can speak Spanish and English; all teachers in Crystal City are now bi-lingual;

(6) Hiring of Chicanos to fill the top administrative positions of school superintendent, assistant superintendent, and principal of all schools in the system.

In elections since 1970, La Raza has won complete control of the Crystal City government and of the county in which Crystal City is located. The mayor, city manager, and all city councilmen and heads of city government departments belong to La Raza Unida Partido. In 1975, José Gutiérrez won election to the office of county judge.

Domination of the city government has enabled La Raza to provide more benefits for Chicanos in Crystal City. Sewage and water service have been provided for the barrio. Streets have been paved and sidewalks installed in front of Chicano homes. Public facilities such as the swimming pool are open equally to Chicanos and Anglos. Many local government jobs have been given to Chicanos.

The La Raza leaders believe that wealth is an important part of political power. Thus, they have tried to encourage Chicanos to pool their resources to buy property and to organize farms and business cooperatives.

They have obtained some federal government funds to help them. They are also trying to attract new industries to Crystal City.

Since the Chicano take-over many Anglos have left Crystal City. In 1963, Anglos were 15 percent of the population, now they account for less than 10 percent.

José Angel Gutiérrez commented on La Raza's success: "Our actions have made La Raza Unida more than just a slogan. Beginning with the walk-out, we began organizing and moving in to counterattack every time the gringos tried to put pressure on the Mexicano. Boycott his store. Point the finger at him .... Bring in the newspapers and photographers and the tape recorders. Let the world see it .... we are the majority. We can stop anything and we can make anything in south Texas if we stick together."

However, efforts of La Raza leaders to extend their activities to other parts of south Texas have been only partially successful. Not all Chicanos agree with their goals or tactics. For example, one of their most important foes is Henry B. Gonzales, a Mexican-American from San Antonio who is a member of the U.S. Congress. "Henry B." calls La Raza leaders "racists in reverse" who create bitterness and conflict. Many Mexican-Americans in Texas agree with Gonzales' stand against La Raza.

Although not all Chicanos support him, all agree that José Angel Gutiérrez has been a "shaker and mover" of people and things. He has helped to organize those who were disorganized and to give a voice in government to the previously "silent majority" of Chicanos. Political life in Crystal City will forever be different because of Gutiérrez and La Raza Unida.

Can you describe the political system of Crystal City in 1975? Use the following items to guide your answer to this question.

1. To what extent was the distribution of political resources in 1975 similar to or different from what it was in 1969 or 1963? Explain.

2. To what extent were the political activities in 1975 similar to or different from what they were in 1969 or 1963? Explain.

3. To what extent did Chicanos have more or less to say about the giving or withholding of valued things in 1975 as compared to 1969 or 1963? Explain.

4. Did the political system of Crystal City change basically from 1969 to 1975 or did it stay mostly the same from one time to another? Explain. Apply what you've learned about the relationship of political activities and resources to this explanation.

5. What are your value judgments about the political system in Crystal City? Check each statement in the following list with which you agree.

____a. (1) It was wrong for the Chicanos to have used such political activities as boycotts, walkouts, and other public demonstrations.

____ (2) It was right for the Chicanos to have used such political activities as boycotts, walkouts, and other public demonstrations.

____b. (1) It was bad that Anglos put pressures on Chicanos (such as threatening to fire them from jobs) to keep them from participating in political activities the Anglos didn't approve of.

____ (2) It was good that Anglos put pressure on Chicanos (such as threatening to fire them from jobs) to keep them from participating in political activities the Anglos didn't approve of.

____c. (1) In Crystal City, Chicanos should be less involved in political activities than Anglos are.

____ (2) In Crystal City, Chicanos should be more involved in politics than Anglos are.

____ (3) In Crystal City, Anglos and Chicanos should be involved equally in political activities.

____d. (1) In Crystal City, Chicanos should have more political resources than Anglos have.

____ (2) In Crystal City, Chicanos should have less political resources than Anglos have.

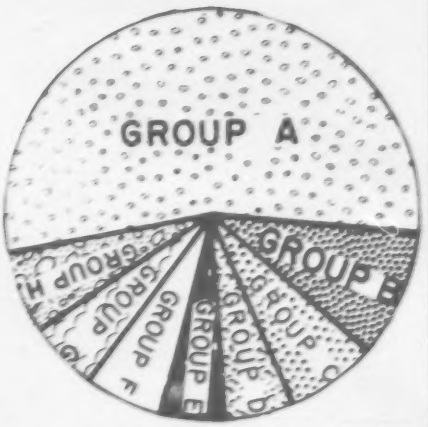
____ (3) In Crystal City, Chicanos and Anglos should have similar shares of the resources.

Give at least one reason in support of each statement you agreed with in the preceding list.

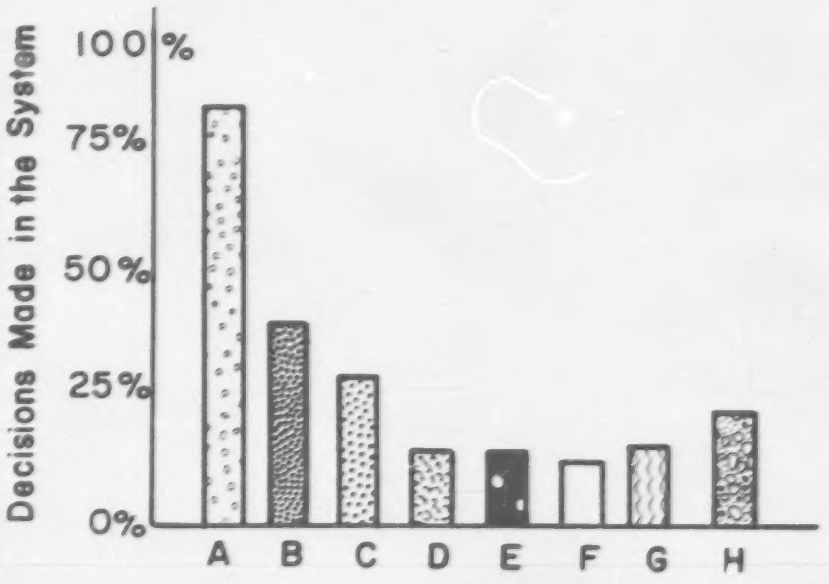
PART D. COALITIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS

Political resources and activities can be related in different ways to form different types of political systems. For instance, look at the graphs about System I and System II. What do these graphs show about differences in political activities and resources in the two systems?

SYSTEM I



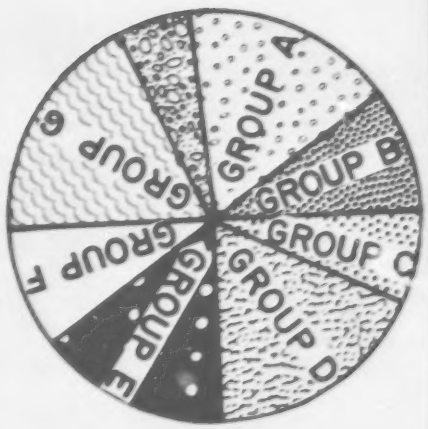
Shares of Resources by Groups in the System



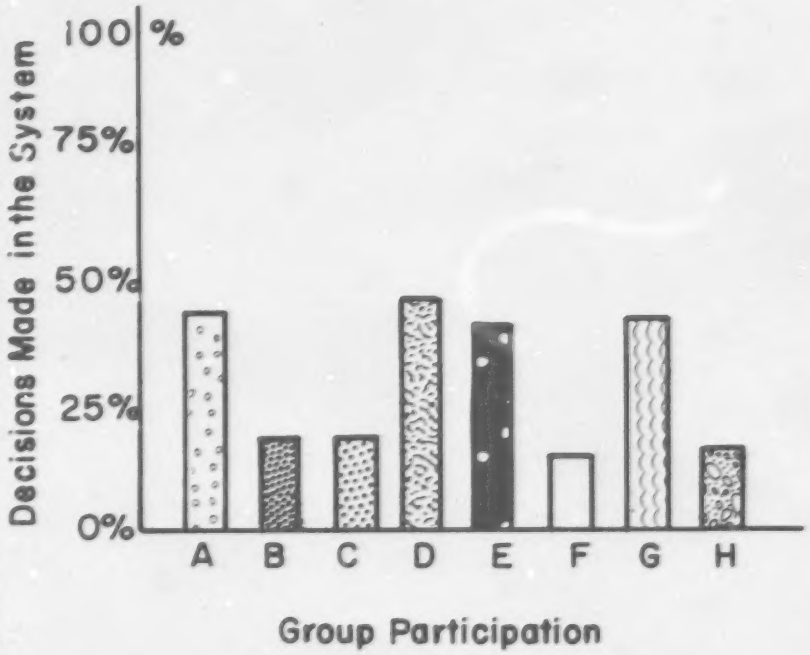
Participation in Decisions About Giving or Withholding Resources in the System

Which group has the most resources in System I? Which group are most involved in important political decisions in System I?

SYSTEM II



Shares of Resources by Groups in the System



Participation in Decisions About Giving or Witholding Resources in the System

Which groups have more political resources in System II? Which groups are more involved in important decisions in System II?

As you can see, the relationships between resources and activities in System I are very different from the relationships in System II. These different relationships between resources and activities add up to two very different kinds of political systems.

In System I, Group A has most of the resources and also is most involved in decision-making in the system. In System II, resources and participation in decision-making are shared more widely by the groups in the system. Groups A, D, G, and E have more resources than other groups in the system. However, no group has enough resources to control decision-making in the system.

In System I, an implication of the relationship between resources and activities is that Group A has control over who gets what, when they get it, and how they get it. Group A has the resources needed to dominate the giving or withholding of important things in the system.

The situation is very different in System II. An implication of the relationship between political activities and resources in this system is that three or four groups have to join forces in order to control decisions about giving or withholding resources. No one group can dominate the system. Rather cooperation and sharing of power are main features of this system.

Activity D-1: Coalitional Political Systems

Read the following case about political activities and resources in a school and try to decide whether the political system in this school is more like System I or System II as shown in the preceding diagrams.

Who Gets What at Central High?

The Council of Student Organization Presidents at Central High School has to decide how to spend $1,150 that has been put in a general fund for student clubs. The money was earned through several fund-raising activities of students at Central High.

According to Council by-laws, this money can be spent for school improvements. It is up to the Council members to decide, by majority vote, "who gets what."

The members of the Council are the 21 presidents of the formally organized school clubs. These clubs are: (1) Key Club, (2) Pep Club, (3) Spanish Club, (4) French Club, (5) Russian Club, (6) Science Club, (7) Social Science Club, (8) Math Club, (9) Chess Club, (10) Rifle Club, (11) FTA, (12) FHA, (13) FFA, (14) Art Club, (15) Drama Club, (16) Music Appreciation Club, (17) School Band, (18) School Choir, (19) Archery Club, (20) Golf Club, (21) Tennis Club.

Each Council member has one vote. Thus, in order to make decisions, the Council members have to make alliances with each other. These alliances shift from time to time depending on the decision that is before the Council and the interests of the various Council members. For example, in a similar situation last year, the several sports clubs (Golf Club, Tennis Club, etc.) made an alliance with the academic clubs (French Club, Science Club, etc.) to use the money earned in fund-raising activities to buy equipment for the sports clubs and books and records for the academic clubs. The presidents of some of the other clubs weren't too happy with this decision about "who gets what." But they had to live with the majority decision.

This year, the Pep Club President is a skillful speaker and organizer. She is one of the most popular students in the school. She has convinced the members of several clubs to use this year's money to buy some new instruments and sheet music for the band to use at the pep rallies and at the football and basketball games. At the moment, she has lined-up support from the Key Club, Golf Club, Archery Club, Tennis Club, Rifle Club, the FHA, and the Band. She needs to secure three more votes in order for the money to be used her way this year.

To gain the needed three votes, she and her supporters may have to agree to use a portion of the money to buy language records for the Spanish, French, and Russian Clubs.

1. Which of the political systems described on pages 77 to 79 is more like the political system of Central High?

____ System I

____ System II

2. Which of these statements is the best explanation for your response to question 1 above?

____ a. In both System I and Central High, most groups have few political resources and are not involved in the important political activities of the system.

____ b. In both System II and Central High School, no group has enough resources to control the system. Thus, in order to make decisions, three or more groups must combine their resources in order to make decisions in the system.

____ c. In both System II and Central High, resources and activities are shared equally. Thus, each group in the system must agree to any decisions that are made.

The political system of Central High School is more like System II than System I. In both Central High and System II no group has enough resources to control the system. Rather, three or more groups must join forces in order to have enough power to make and enforce decisions.

Central High School is an example of a coalitional political system. That is, resources are divided among many different groups and many different groups take part in important political activities in the system. Basic decisions tend to be made by majority vote or with reference to some kind of majority approval.

A coalition is an alliance between two or more groups who have similar interests and goals. For example, in the case about Central High, decisions were made by majority vote. In order to create a majority, different groups had to join together as a coalition. They combined their resources of political skills and voting power to create a majority that could make a decision about giving and withholding things that were important to different student groups.

Political party conventions in the United States are a very good example of coalitional politics. Different delegations come to a convention supporting many different candidates for the presidency. Often no single candidate will have support from a majority of the delegates. In order to build a majority, a coalition must be formed. Thus, leaders of different delegations negotiate and bargain with each other to make an agreement to join forces behind one candidate. Through this coalition-building, one candidate is able to achieve majority support as the party's presidential candidate.

Resources are very important to the negotiating and bargaining needed

to build a coalition. To make an alliance, or coalition, with another group, you have to possess something that the other group wants. To make a coalition, you must be able to give something that another group wants for something you want.

In a coalitional political system, you must be able to compromise. That is, you must be willing and able to give up a little of what you want to receive the cooperation of another group which might give something you want.

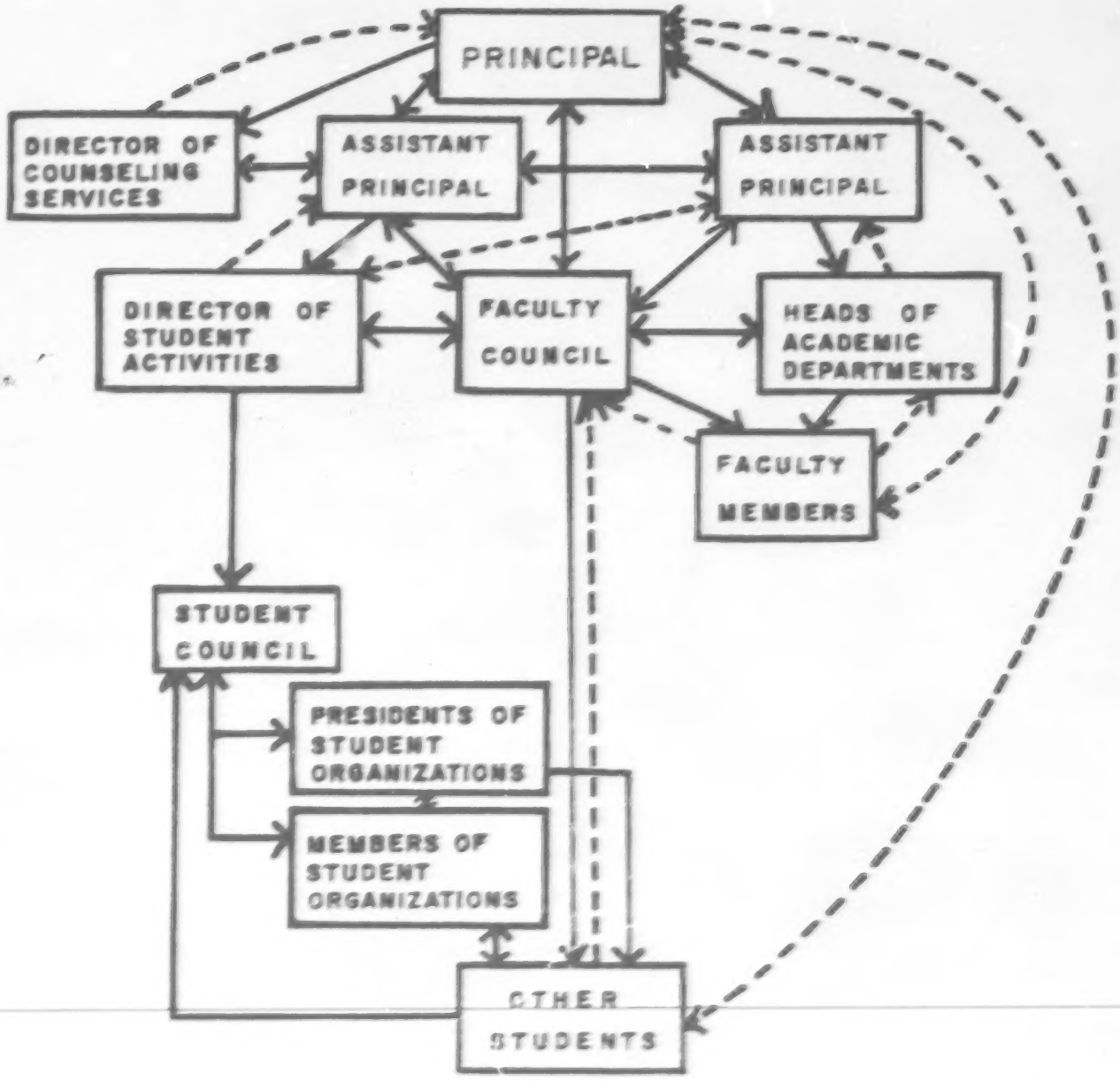
In the Central High School case, the Pep Club president may have to make a compromise with the language clubs in order to make an alliance with them. She may have to agree to give up a little of the available money to buy language records for them. In return, the language clubs will support her in using the rest of the money to buy instruments and sheet music for the pep band.

Following is a diagram of the relationships between leaders and groups at Central High School. As you can see, the principal and his assistants are at the top of the system. However, no single person or group is in a position to dominate others all the time. Leaders must rely more on persuasion and compromise rather than on threats and force to get things done.

No one group has all the resources it needs to achieve important objectives in the system. Thus, in order to get things done, each group tries to form alliances with other groups. Through these alliances, or coalitions, a combination of groups is able to pool resources to achieve mutual political objectives.

Influence in this coalitional political system is based to a great extent on ability to bargain and compromise. Those who use resources wisely to make good deals with other groups usually have more advantages in this type of system.

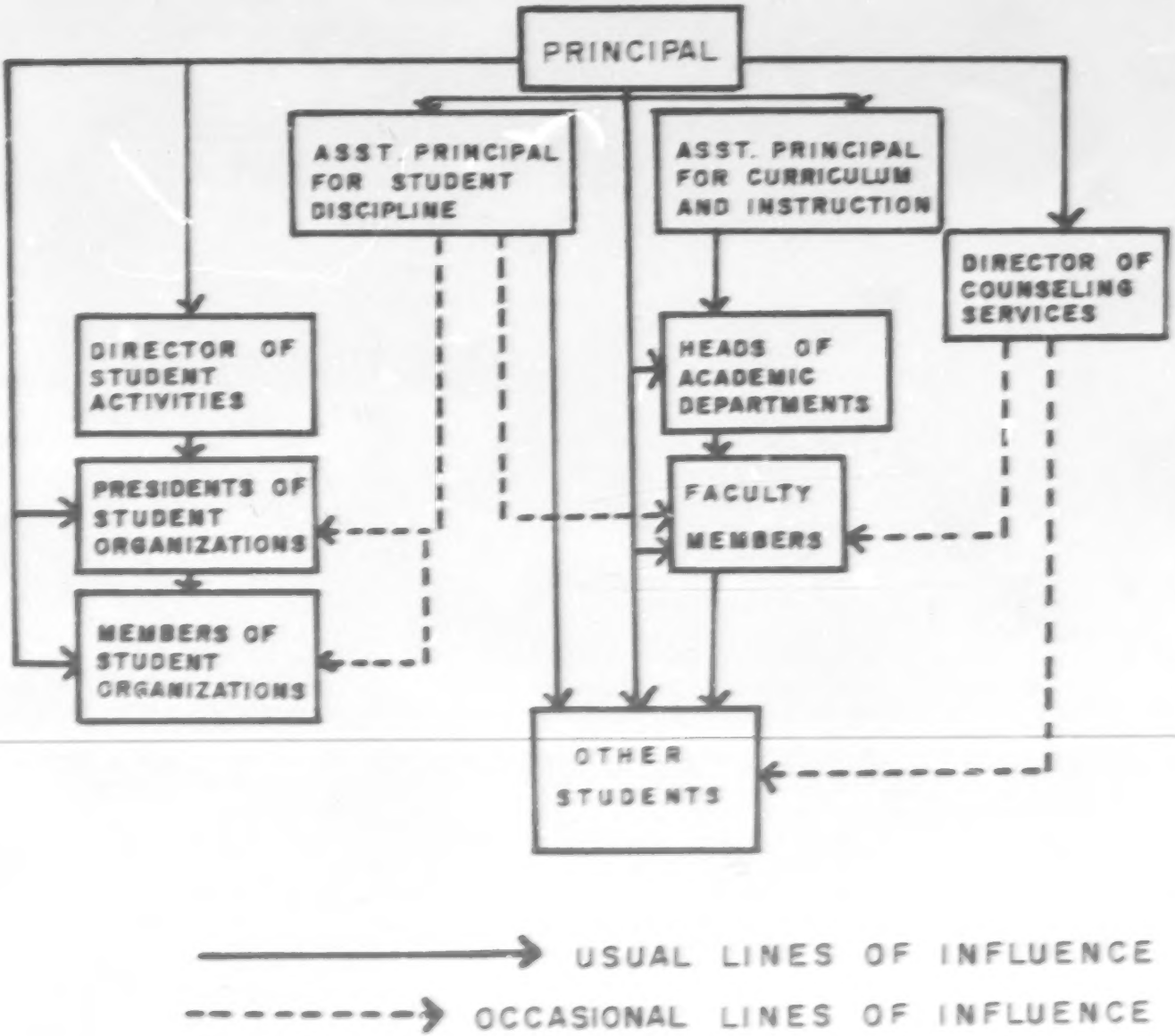
Relationships Between Leaders and Groups at Central High School



Political life at Clark High School is very different from politics at Central High. As you can see in the diagram below, the principal and his assistants dominate the system overwhelmingly. Throughout the system, those in higher positions are able to control those in lower positions.

Clark High does NOT have a coalitional political system.

Relationships Between Leaders and Groups at Clark High School



Following are two sets of evidence about political activities and resources in two high schools. From this evidence, try to decide whether the political life in these schools is more or less like a coalitional political system.

Evidence Set I - Political Life at Kosciusko High School

KOSCIUSKO HIGH SCHOOL

Memorandum

To:	All Members of the Faculty Council and the Student Council	Subj:	The Vending Machine Issue
From:	Mark Blesich, President Booster Club	Date:	October 11, 1974

I have been instructed by the members of the Booster Club to inform you that our club is against any changes in the vending machine service in our school. Our position is based on two reasons.

Our first reason is that everyone in this school ought to have the right to decide whether he/she wants to eat candy or drink pop. Neither the FHA nor any other group should have the power to make this choice for us or anyone else.

Our second reason is that the candy and pop machines have been big money earners for our school. Approximately half of the money in the student activities fund last year came from our share of the vending machine sales! We doubt that fruit or milk sales would be as great as the candy and pop sales.

We hope that you'll consider our arguments carefully as you discuss the vending machine issue.

The Sentinel
Thaddeus Kosciusko High School
Volume 30, No. 4 October 11, 1974

BOOSTER CLUB AGAINST TAKING POP AND CANDY MACHINES AWAY

by Tanya Levy

The Athletic Booster Club members voted overwhelmingly against removing the pop and candy machines. This action was taken during the club's regular bi-monthly meeting last Tuesday. Mark Blesich, the Booster Club President, said, "I'll recommend to the Student Council that they ought to vote against removing the candy and pop machines. These machines are big money-makers for the school. The Booster Club has made good use of some of this money. We don't think fruit and milk machines would earn as much money."

Blesich plans to meet with other club presidents to try to convince them to join with the Boosters in opposing the removal of the vending machines. He also plans to talk to Mr. Hrivnac, our Principal, and other administrators and teachers to enlist their support for his cause.

Eagles Host Hawks in Homecoming Clash Tonight

Coach Medwitz: "We'll pulverize the Hawks."

by Joe Hernandez

The mighty Hawks of Baker High visit Kosciusko Field for the homecoming football game tonight at 7:30 against our unbeaten Eagles. The Hawks have won three and lost one.

Coach Medwitz feels that his men are ready for tonight's challenge. "We're at full strength for this game. Repko and Strezio have overcome their ankle sprains. We've had good practices all week long and we're ready to rip tonight."

Hector Garcia, the split end, and Barney Fields, the middle line-backer, were selected by a majority vote of the football team members to be the captains for tonight's game.

(Continued on page 6)

STUDENT COUNCIL DEBATES THE VENDING MACHINE ISSUE TODAY

by Rita Rossi

The main topic on the agenda of the Student Council meeting today is the vending machine issue. Many students and teachers want to stop the sale of candy and pop through the vending machines in the halls and in the cafeteria. They say that these products are bad for the health of students. Thus, they want to replace these products with fresh fruit, fruit juices, milk, and yogurt.

Vending machines are focus of student debate.

Many other students and teachers want to keep the vending machines as they are. They say that no one is forced to buy the candy and pop. But, these products should be available to those who want them.

Members of the Student Council, who represent the two sides of this issue, are expected to debate about the vending machines in the Council meeting today. The Student Council president, Becky Lazar, says, "I don't expect the Council to vote on this issue until our next meeting. The Council members will want to consult with the various student groups that they represent before they vote."

(Continued on page 3)

FACULTY COUNCIL VOTES MONEY FOR NEW CHEERLEADER UNIFORMS

by Barbie Toth

The cheerleaders will get new uniforms to wear in time for the first basketball game in November. The Faculty Council voted 21-9 to use a portion of the student activities fund to help the cheerleaders, who have been asking for new uniforms for the last two years.

At this meeting, Mr. Hrivnac proposed that the Faculty Council discuss the vending machine issue at the next meeting. Everyone agreed with this proposal.

(Continued on page 5)

Transcript of Interview With
The President of the Student Council

John Broz: (Interviewer) Thanks for agreeing to this interview, Becky.

Becky Lazar: (Student Council President) It sounds like fun. What do you want to ask, John?

John: Becky, tell me about this vending machine issue that everyone seems so revved-up about. What's happening?

Becky: Some of the kids, and teachers too, think it's wrong to sell candy and pop through the vending machines in school. They want the machines taken out or fruit and milk sold through the machines. But, lots of others want to keep the machines as is.

John: Are a lot of people in this school concerned about the issue?

Becky: At first not too many people cared. It seemed that just a few kids, who are always griping about something or other, had decided to complain about the vending machines. But, they've convinced a lot of others to help them. Now, I'd say that most everybody in this school is talking about this issue.

John: It's been put on the Student Council's agenda, hasn't it?

Becky: Yeah, we're supposed to discuss it at our next meeting. Most of the clubs in school are going to take a stand on this. The other day, the FHA club voted unanimously to campaign against selling candy and pop in the machines. And a majority of the Booster Club members voted to keep the machines like they are now.

John: What are some goals people have who are involved in the issue?

Becky: Well, the FHA group says that it's bad for our health to eat lots of candy and pop and that the school shouldn't sell things through vending machines that'll be bad for us. The Booster Club says people should have the freedom to decide what they want to eat and drink. They also don't want the school to lose all the money that's earned for the student activities fund through the candy and pop sales.

John: Who's going to have some influence on how this issue is settled?

Becky: Right now the Student Council members are talking about the issue with the different groups that they represent. I think it's hard to know at this moment who's going to have most influence. Most of the student groups will be in on the decision in one way or another since it involves the student activities fund.

John: Who'll make the final decision on this issue?

Becky: Mr. Hrivnac, our principal, has the final say. But, in cases like this, he usually follows the recommendation of the Faculty Council. The Council will make a decision by majority vote, and Mr. Hrivnac will probably go along with it.

John: What's the significance of the Student Council's upcoming vote on this issue?

Becky: As I said before, the students have a real stake in this issue. In cases like this, the Faculty Council will be strongly influenced by what we decide in the Student Council.

Evidence Set II - Political Life at Lakeville High School

LAKEVILLE HIGH SCHOOL

Interdepartmental Communication

To: Presidents of Student Organizations

From: Mr. Peters, Director of Student Activities

Subj.: Participation in the All School Candy Sale

Dept: Student Activities Office

Date: October 23, 1974

Mr. Graham has asked me to inform you that you and your organizations are expected to be important participants in the all school candy sale which is to take place during November. The money that we earn from this drive will go into the general student activities fund. Thus, the money will be available to support any student organization activities which Mr. Graham and I believe to be worthwhile. However, the student organizations which sell the most candy and earn the most for the general student activities fund are likely to receive more consideration when decisions are made about how to use the money.

the splash

VOL. 21, NO. 1—SEPTEMBER 13, 1974 LAKEVILLE HIGH SCHOOL

GRAHAM WELCOMES NEW STUDENTS

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Lakers Open Season Tonight Against Bedrock

by Jack Strong

The Bedrock Stonies visit Laker Field tonight in the season opener for both schools. The kickoff is scheduled for 8:00.

Coach Straight predicts a tough game. "Those Stonies are a hard bunch," he said today. "We'll have to play a great game to beat them."

Mr. Graham said he expects our students to behave like good citizens tonight at the game. "No rowdiness of any kind will be tolerated," he declared. Mr. Graham has announced that the members of the "Black and Gold" club will be used as ushers to help teachers keep order at the game.

(continued on page 4)

"I'm in charge here!" Mr. Graham's message to ninth graders.

PRINCIPAL TELLS ENTERING FRESHMEN THE WAY IT IS AT LAKEVILLE HIGH

by Monica Trueblood

On Monday morning, September 9, Mr. Graham spoke to the new ninth graders in our Assembly Hall. He told the new Lakers about the traditions of our school and what it means to be a good citizen at Lakeville High.

Mr. Graham stressed the importance of following the rules. He said, "At Lakeville, we believe in law and order. It's my job to make and enforce the rules, and it's your job to obey them. There's no room for troublemakers in this school. As long as you remember this simple message, you'll get along at Lakeville."

Mr. Graham talked about the progress that has been made at Lakeville since he became principal. He also talked about his vision of the school's future. He said that he hoped the new freshmen would learn as quickly as possible how to get along at Lakeville.

He concluded by saying, "If you go along with me, you'll get along at Lakeville High."

FTA TO HOLD DANCES AFTER GAMES

by Martina Rossi

Come and Learn the "Splash" at Tonight's Dance

Diana Digby, president of the FTA, has announced that Mr. Graham has approved her request that the FTA be allowed to hold dances after each of the home football games this year. The first of these dances will be held tonight in the gymnasium. The price of admission is 75¢. Last year the FHA held these dances, but many of the teachers did not like the way these dances were managed. Thus, Mr. Graham announced that the FHA would not be allowed to hold any dances this year. He said that this year the FTA will get an opportunity to run the dances. "If they manage the dances properly, they'll be allowed to continue earning money for their treasury this way," said Mr. Graham.

(continued on page 3)

MUGS MURPHY SELECTED PRESIDENT OF "BLACK & GOLD" CLUB

by Pete Powers

Last Tuesday, Mugs Murphy was chosen by Mr. Peters, the student activities director, to be president of the "Black and Gold" club. The members of this club are the outstanding citizens of the school. They are expected to perform various services for the school, such as working as hall monitors and as ushers at sports events.

(continued on page 4)

Transcript of Interview With the Assistant
Principal in Charge of Student Discipline

Nick Settembrini (Interviewer): Hello, Mr. Thorn. Thanks for letting me take your time for this. I know you're a busy man, that you're working all the time for this school and all that. So, thanks a lot.

Mr. Thorn: No problem, Nick. What do you want to ask me?

Nick: Well, ah, Mr. Thorn, what's this student Bus Committee issue all about anyway?

Mr. Thorn: Some of the students who ride the busses to school, you know, those kids from Buffington and Black Creek, and Thortonville. Well, it seems that some trouble-makers don't like the way my Bus Committee runs things.

Nick: What do you mean? What don't they like?

Mr. Thorn: They say that the kids on the Bus Committee are my stooges, that they don't really represent most of the students.

Nick: What kids are part of this? Is most everyone in the school concerned with the issue? Or are just a few people interested?

Mr. Thorn: Nick, just a few of the same old trouble-makers. About half the kids ride the bus to school. Most of them think my Bus Committee handles everything okay. The rest of the students, those who don't ride the busses, they don't care a bit about this.

Nick: What are some goals people have who are involved in the issue? What do the kids want who are complaining?

Mr. Thorn: As near as I can tell, they want to have the Bus Committee members elected by majority vote of those who ride the busses to school. They say if the Bus Committee is going to make and enforce rules for those who ride the busses, they should be elected by those who have to obey the rules.

Nick: What do you think about that?

Mr. Thorn: The kids might be influenced to pick the wrong people for the Bus Committee. It's too important to take chances like that. The way it's done now, I know that the best kids are selected to the committee, the ones who'll do the job for me.

Nick: How do you think most of the kids feel? Do they agree with you?

Mr. Thorn: Most kids in this school are good citizens, Nick. You know that. Our school is known everywhere for the way things are done here, in an orderly way. I'd say most kids have no complaint with the Bus Committee as it is now.

Nick: How will this issue be resolved?

Mr. Thorn: Mr. Graham likes the way the Student Bus Committee handles things. He also approves of the way I work with the bus situation. There won't be any changes.

Answer these questions about political life at Kosciusko and Lakeville High Schools.

1. What examples of politics can you identify in the preceding sets of evidence?
2. In which of the two high schools is political life more like politics in a coalitional system?
3. Can you explain your answer to question 2? (Use your knowledge of political activities and resources to answer this question.)
4. In which of the two high schools is political life more like politics in your school? Explain.
5. Is political life in your school more or less like politics in a coalitional system? Explain.
6. What kind of evidence would you need to gather about your school to check your answer to question 5? Where and how could you obtain this evidence?

Activity D-2: Coalitional Politics in the USA

Use evidence on pages 97 - 106 to decide the extent to which political life in the United States fits our description of a coalitional political system. This evidence is presented in two parts. First, on pages to is a description of what the Constitution says about powers and duties of different groups in the national government. Second, is a case study "With Advice and Consent," about how groups interact in terms of the rules written in the Constitution.

Rules About Powers and Duties in the National Government

According to the Constitution, the national government is divided into three main branches: the executive (headed by the President), the legislative (Congress), and the judicial (headed by the Supreme Court). See the diagram on page 99 . The main powers of government are separated.

The legislative branch is mainly responsible for making laws.

The executive branch is mainly responsible for carrying out and enforcing laws. In line with this duty, the various departments of the federal bureaucracy manage the day-to-day affairs of the government. As chief executive, the President has the power and duty of overseeing and leading the huge executive branch of government.

The judicial branch makes judgments about the laws. For example, the courts decide whether or not laws have been broken in particular cases or whether or not laws have been enforced properly.

The President is in a strong position due to command of the government bureaucracy and leadership in conducting the day-to-day affairs of government. However, the Constitution includes checks upon the power of the chief executive. For example, the President has the power to appoint federal judges and heads of the various government departments. But the Senate has the power to approve these appointments by a majority vote. Those who cannot win approval of the Senate do not take office.

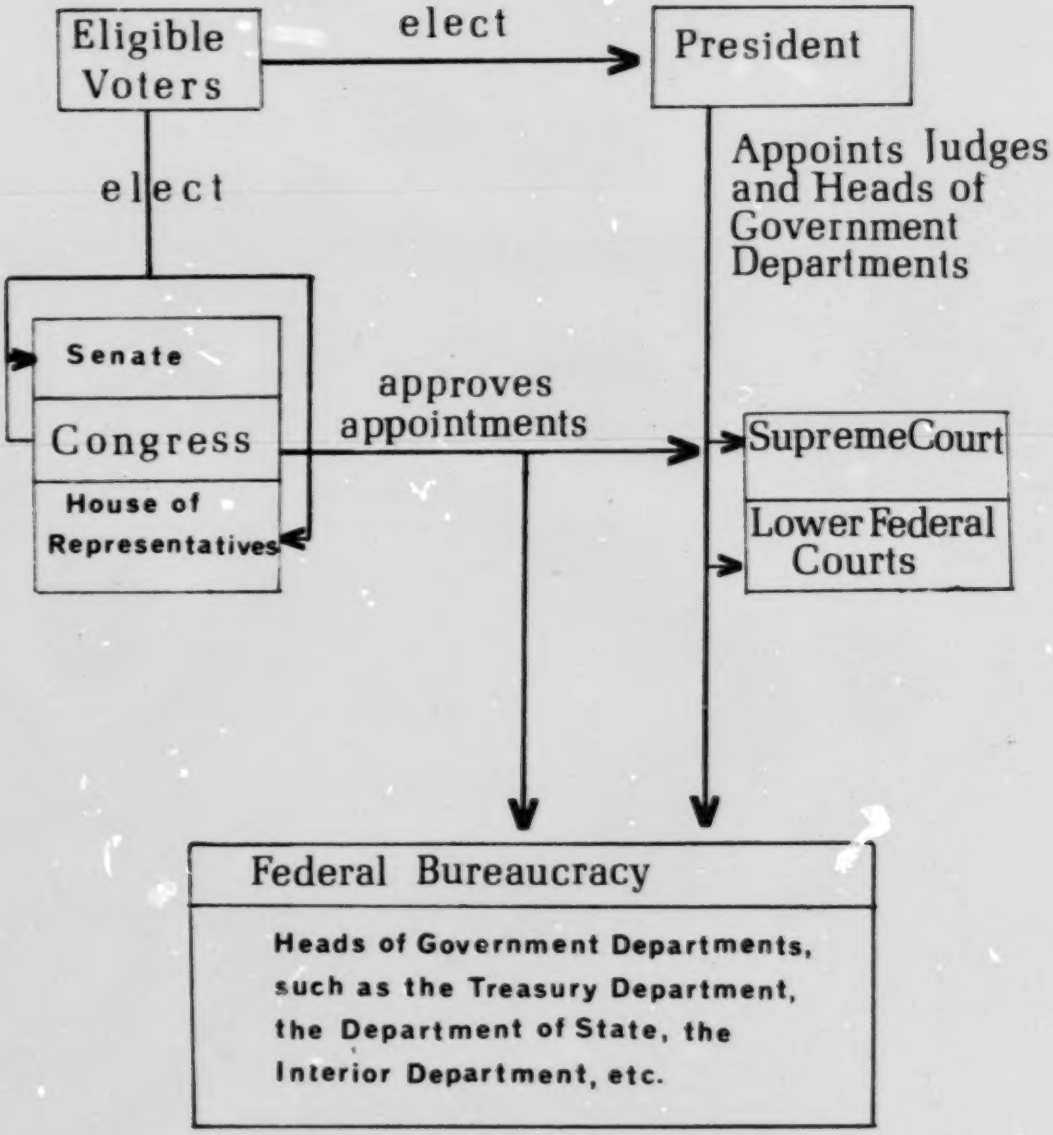
Another example of a check on the power of the President is that the House of Representatives must introduce and the Senate must approve any laws providing money which the President needs in order to manage the government.

The Supreme Court also has an important checking power over both the

Congress and the President, which is the power to declare laws passed by Congress and actions of the President unconstitutional. This means that the Supreme Court can hear arguments from those who claim that particular laws or actions of the government contradict the supreme law of the land, the Constitution. If the Supreme Court agrees (by majority vote), then the law or action in question is declared null and void.

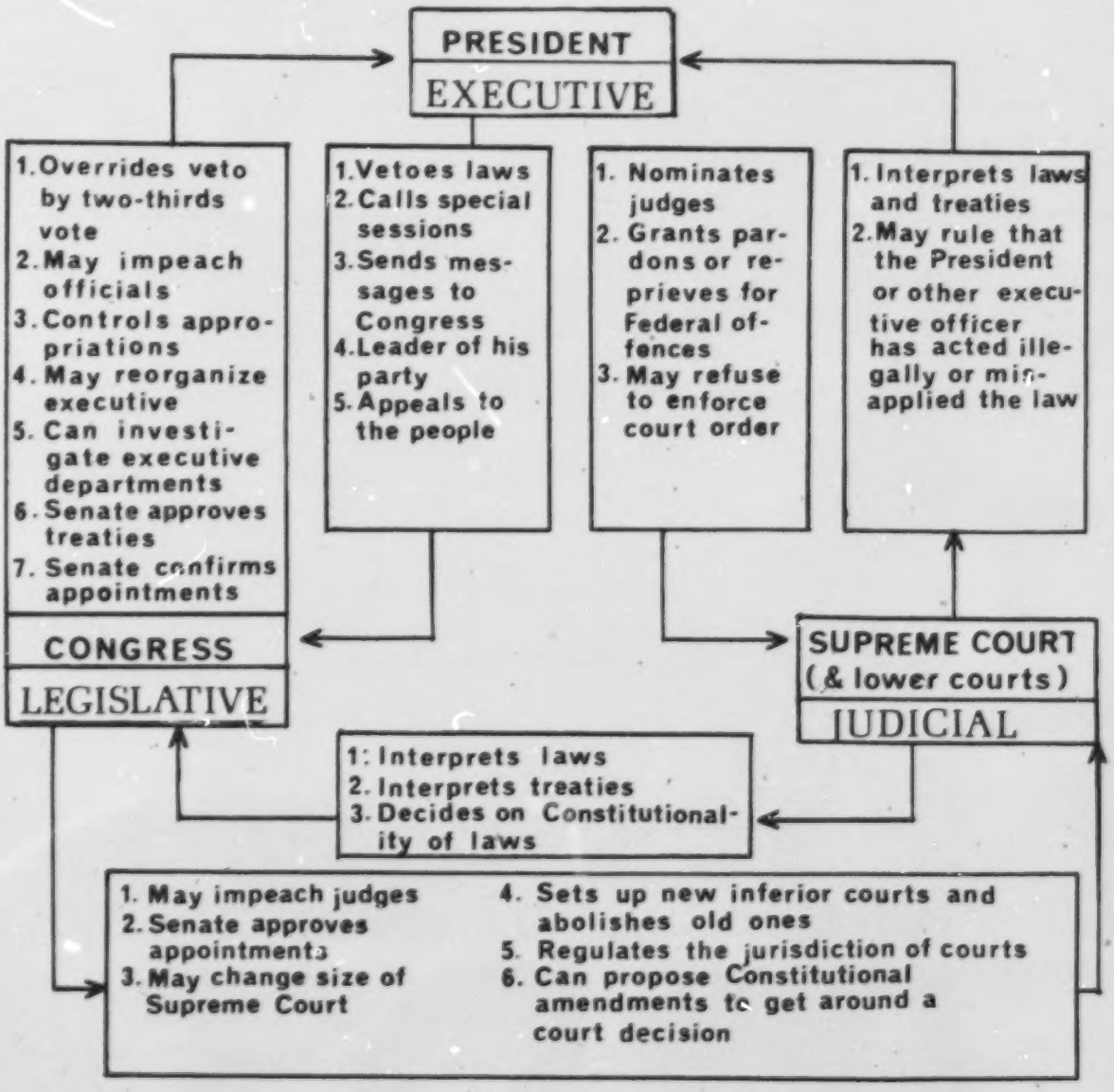
Of course, the eligible voters have a check on the President through their power to vote the chief executive out of office after one four-year term. Finally, the Constitution limits each President to two four-year terms of office.

Organization of the National Government, USA



The following diagram includes examples of the checks which each main branch of the government can use against the other two branches. These formal influence relationships were designed to prevent any branch of government, or any individual (especially the President), from gaining an overwhelming influence over others.

System of Checks and Balances in the National Government


PRESIDENT
EXECUTIVE
1. Overrides veto by two-thirds vote
2. May impeach officials
3. Controls appropriations
4. May reorganize executive
5. Can investigate executive departments
6. Senate approves treaties
7. Senate confirms appointments
CONGRESS
LEGISLATIVE
1. Vetoes laws
2. Calls special sessions
3. Sends messages to Congress
4. Leader of his party
5. Appeals to the people
1. Nominates judges
2. Grants pardons or reprieves for Federal offences
3. May refuse to enforce court order
1. Interprets laws and treaties
2. May rule that the President or other executive officer has acted illegally or misapplied the law
SUPREME COURT (& lower courts)
JUDICIAL
1. Interprets laws
2. Interprets treaties
3. Decides on Constitutionality of laws
1. May impeach judges
2. Senate approves appointments
3. May change size of Supreme Court
4. Sets up new inferior courts and abolishes old ones
5. Regulates the jurisdiction of courts
6. Can propose Constitutional amendments to get around a court decision

With Advice and Consent

Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution says: "The President . . . shall nominate and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint . . . judges of the Supreme Court." According to the highest law of the USA, the power to select Supreme Court Justices is divided between the President, who presents nominations, and the 100 Senators, who approve each nomination by a majority vote.

In mid-January, 1970, President Richard M. Nixon nominated George Harrold Carswell to fill a vacancy on the U.S. Supreme Court. Carswell, who lived in Florida, had been appointed in 1969 by Nixon as a federal judge of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

The Carswell nomination was President Nixon's second attempt to fill the Supreme Court vacancy. Six months earlier he had nominated another Southern judge, Clement F. Haynsworth; but a majority of Senators had voted against him.

Observers believed that the Senate would readily approve the Carswell nomination. The earlier political fighting over Haynsworth had been bitter and exhausting. Thus, most Senators seemed to be willing to accept whatever name Nixon submitted and to move on to other pressing business.

The consenting mood of the Senate can be seen in the words of Birch Bayh, Democratic Senator from Indiana, who had led the successful opposition to the Haynsworth nomination: "When a bad thing is before the Senate and it has the support of the President, any effort to defeat it has to be immense to succeed. At the time, there seemed no chance that an effort of that magnitude could be pulled off."

Despite these words, and the passive first response of most Senators to the Carswell nomination, Birch Bayh became a leader of a group of Democrats and Republicans who "took on" Carswell, and his sponsor, President Nixon.

Bayh's decision to oppose Carswell was made on February 25, when he heard Senator Edward W. Brooke, Republican of Massachusetts, declare on the Senate floor: "I will vote against confirmation of Judge Carswell."

Brooke, the Republican Senator from Massachusetts, gave three main reasons for opposing his Republican President. First, Brooke claimed that Carswell was a racist, who believed in segregation of whites from blacks and that blacks were an inferior people. He quoted from a speech that Carswell had made in 1948 to back-up this claim. Carswell said: "I believe that segregation of the races is proper . . . I have always so believed and I shall always so act . . . I yield to no man as a fellow candidate or as a fellow citizen, in the firm vigorous belief in the principles of White supremacy, and I shall always be so governed."

Brooke gave several other examples of Carswell's support of racial segregation and white supremacy. As a black man, he found these actions extremely obnoxious.

Brooke's second reason for opposing Carswell was his poor record of handling civil rights cases as a federal judge. Carswell had consistently made judgments against black people and their causes and had a reputation for treating civil rights lawyers rudely.

Brooke's third reason for opposing Carswell was his poor reputation as a legal scholar and clear thinker. Brooke argued that Carswell did not have the ability to be a Supreme Court judge.

Brooke's speech impressed Birch Bayh. He began to consider how he might oppose Carswell and what were the chances for success.

Bayh realized that the prospects for defeating Carswell were dim. The American Bar Association's Committee on the Federal Judiciary had endorsed the Carswell nomination unanimously. The Senate Judiciary Committee, to which Bayh belonged, had held public hearings on the Carswell nomination. The Committee had voted 13 to 4 in favor of Carswell. Finally, only nineteen Senators had declared opposition to Carswell and fifty-one votes were needed to defeat the nomination.

Carswell's support in the Senate came mainly from three groups. A bloc of Conservative Republican Senators believed that Carswell shared their beliefs about law and government. Roman Hruska of Nebraska was a leader of this group. A bloc of southern Democrats and Republicans believed that Carswell, a fellow southerner, would represent their regional interests on the Supreme Court. Strom Thurmond, a Republican from South Carolina and James Eastland, a Democrat from Mississippi, were leaders of this group. Finally, a group of moderate and liberal Republicans supported Carswell primarily because they felt the need to be loyal to their Republican President Nixon. Hugh Scott, of Pennsylvania, the Republican party leader in the Senate and Robert Griffin of Michigan, the Republican party Whip, were leaders of this group.

The first Senators to oppose Carswell were a few Democrats and Republicans who shared disagreement with Carswell's ideas about the Constitution or government. The Democratic leaders of this group were Birch Bayh and Edward Kennedy. The Republican leaders were Edward Brooke, Jacob Javits of New York and Charles Goodell of New York. Some of the Democrats in this

group were also motivated by their dislike of the Republican President Nixon and their wish to make him look bad whenever possible.

On March 2, an Associated Press poll reported that 37 Senators were for Carswell, 20 were against and 43 were undecided. While realizing the difficulty of their task, Birch Bayh and his associates were encouraged by the large group of "undecided" Senators. The votes of these 43 "undecided" Senators were to be the objectives of the opposing forces in the Carswell battle. According to Bayh: "The problem was . . . how do you create enough counter-pressure to neutralize the natural pressure created by the President's backing so that Senators are free to decide the issue on the merits."

President Nixon had been putting as much pressure as possible on wavering Senators to win and maintain their support for Carswell. For example, several Senators were up for re-election in 1970. Nixon indicated that those who supported Carswell would receive strong support from him and the Vice-President; those who opposed Carswell would face his opposition in their bids for re-election.

President Nixon offered to help some Senators to obtain needed public works projects for their states in return for their support of Carswell. For example, to maintain the support of Jennings Randolph, Democrat of West Virginia, the President helped to obtain a three-million-dollar federal grant for an urban renewal project in West Virginia. Hiram Fong, Republican from Hawaii, was promised a federal judgeship for one of his friends and the establishment of an East-West trade center in Honolulu.

President Nixon informed Hugh Scott and Robert Griffin, the Republican Party leaders in the Senate, that he would work to undermine their party leadership positions unless they were completely loyal to him on the Carswell

issue. Although both men had misgivings about Carswell, they were influenced by the President's threats to support the nomination.

Numerous groups outside the Senate were creating their own pressures to counter those of the President and his supporters. For example, several national labor unions and civil rights organizations launched campaigns to influence public opinion against the Carswell nomination. The A.F. of L.-C.I.O labor unions, the United Auto Workers, the NAACP, and the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) were prominent in this anti-Carswell campaign which included letter writing to Senators, letter writing to newspapers, and personal contact, when possible, with "undecided" Senators.

The letter writing campaigns against Carswell had a strong impact on some Senators. Democratic Senator Eagleton of Missouri had declared support of Carswell. However, the mail from his constituents showed a three to one ratio against Carswell. Consequently, Eagleton changed his mind about Carswell.

Hiram Fong had been an early supporter of Carswell. He had voted for Carswell as a member of the Senate Judicial Committee. However, the voters of Hawaii seemed to be overwhelmingly against Carswell, whose views on racial matters appalled them. Newspapers in Hawaii wrote sharp editorials against Fong's support of Carswell. Several local political leaders in Hawaii urged Fong to reconsider his stand. Consequently, Fong changed from a supporter to an opponent of the Carswell nomination.

Several prominent newsmen began to write articles and editorials about the weaknesses of Judge Carswell. These articles in newspapers such as the Washington Post and the New York Times helped to influence a few Senators to oppose Carswell. Republican Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine was swayed to vote against Carswell by a well-written article in the Boston Globe.

Perhaps the most significant efforts to influence the Senators were those of lawyers' groups around the country. Some influential lawyers had initially endorsed Carswell. However, as the anti-Carswell campaigns developed, numerous lawyers' groups strongly opposed the nomination. Their most telling charge was to claim that Carswell was incompetent. They showed that over 40 percent of Carswell's decisions as a federal judge had been reversed by higher courts, which suggested that he lacked knowledge and skill as a judge.

Louis Pollak, Dean of the Yale University Law School, declared that Carswell presented "more slender credentials than any nominee for the Supreme Court put forth in this century." and William Van Alstyne, Professor of Law at Duke University, said: "There is, in candor, nothing in the quality of the nominee's work to warrant any expectation whatever that he could serve with distinction on the Supreme Court of the U.S.A." Criticisms such as these from prominent lawyers swayed the votes of several Senators, such as Frank Moss, Democrat of Utah.

The Senate vote on the Carswell nomination was scheduled for April 8. A large excited crowd packed the Senate gallery. At one o'clock, a single buzzer rang to signal the start of the roll-call vote. The first four votes were for Carswell. Then Birch Bayh's name was called and he cast the first "no" vote, which was a portent of the outcome: 51 votes "no" and 45 votes "yes." The Carswell nomination had been defeated. Among the opponents were 12 Republicans.

Use the information on pages 99 to 106 to answer these questions about politics in the USA.

1. Can you identify the opposing groups in this case?

2. What were the different objectives of these opposing groups? What were the different things they desired?

3. What political activities did different people take in support of things that their group valued? What resources did they use and how did they use them?

4. To what extent does the political life described on pages to fit our description of a coalitional political system?

____ a. fits to a great extent

____ b. fits to a lesser extent

____ c. hardly fits at all

____ d. uncertain

Provide examples to support your response to this question.

5. What is your opinion about the political activities of different groups in this case? Which do you like or not like? Why?

6. What is your opinion about the outcome of this case? Do you like it or not? Why?

Activity D-3: Political Systems as Models

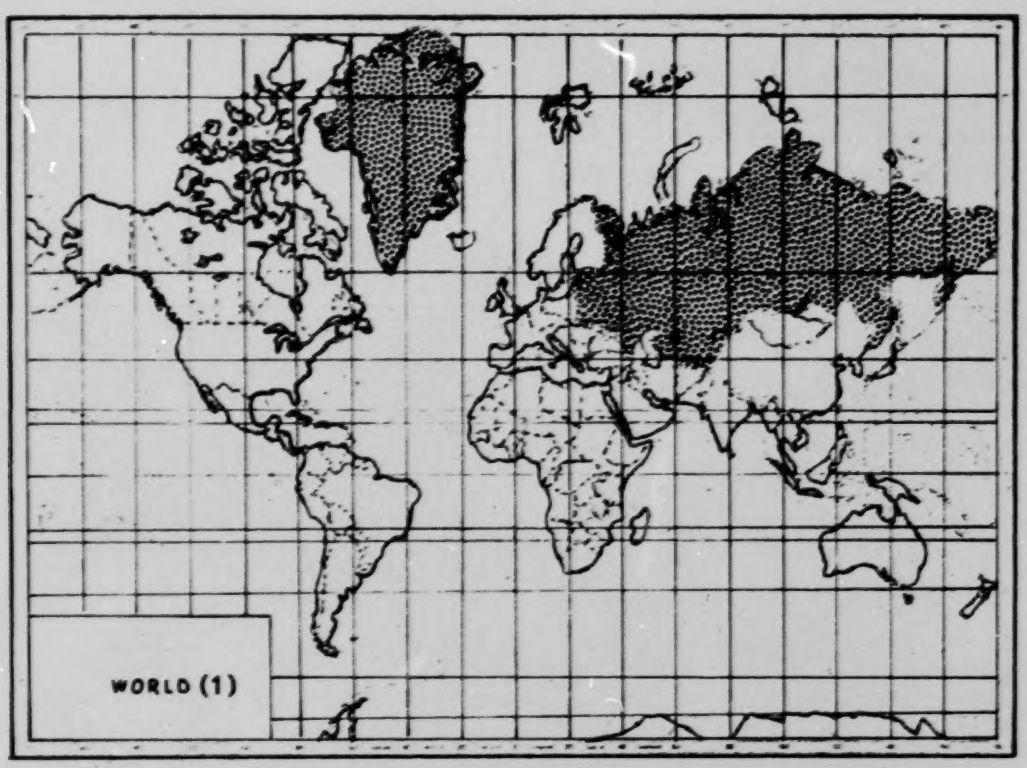
The coalitional political system described on pages 81 to 87 can be thought of as a model. People who study politics often construct and use models such as this one to help them simplify and make sense of complicated political events.

A political system model is abstract. That is, the parts of the model are ideas rather than physical objects like the parts of a model airplane. The parts of a political system model are ideas such as political activities and resources. In contrast, the parts of a model airplane are physical objects such as propellers, flaps, wings, and wheels.

A political system model can help us to interpret political life in the same way that a world map can help us see relationships between objects on the earth's surface. For example, a global map of the world is a model -- a small-scale, simplified representation of the earth's surface. We can use a global map to help us see more clearly and meaningfully the distances between different points on the earth's surface. We can also use a globe to help us see differences and similarities in land elevation throughout the world.

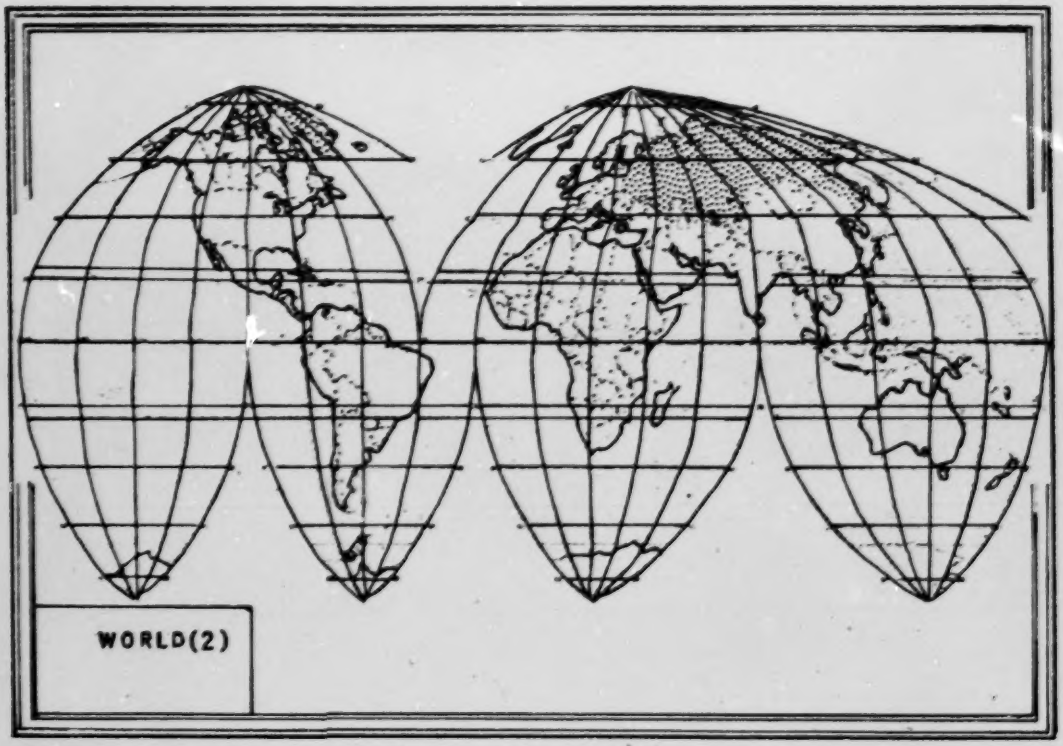
A good global map can help us to understand relationships between objects such as mountains, valleys, and rivers. Likewise, a good political system model can help us to see political relationships more clearly and meaningfully. For example, a good political system model can help us to understand the relationships between political resources and activities in a group of people.

The models we use to help us understand our world also shape our view of the world. For example, consider the two different types of maps below. Map 1 on this page is called a mercator map. Map 2 on the next page is an equal area projection map.



MERCATOR'S PROJECTION

Map 1



BOGGS EUMORPHIC EQUAL AREA PROJECTION

Map 2

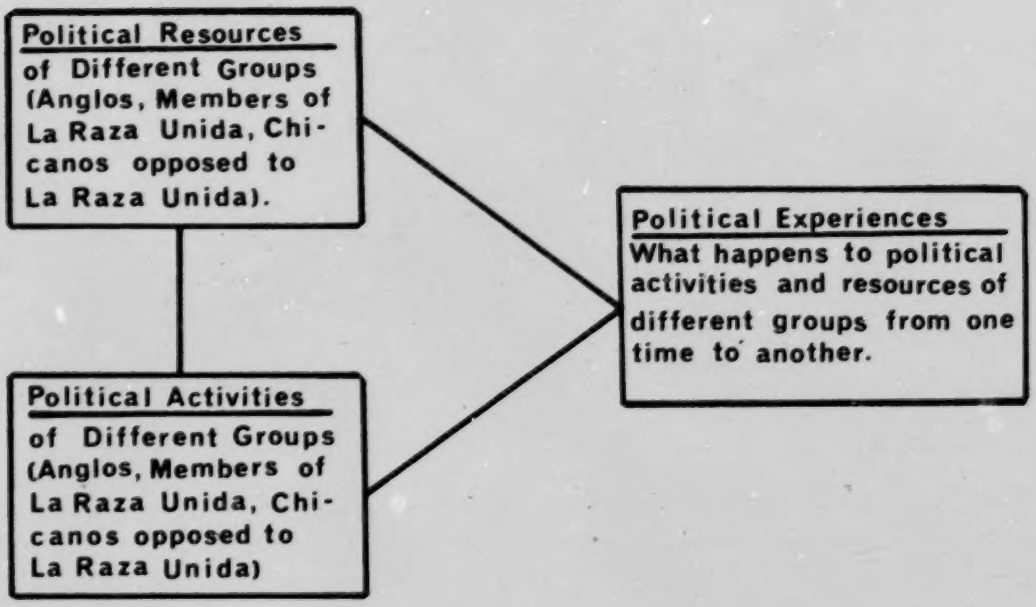
Is the view of the world in Map 1 different from the view projected in Map 2? Indeed it is. Notice that in Map 1 some land areas are bigger than in Map 2. For instance, Greenland and the Soviet Union look much bigger in Map 1. The distances between different places also look different from one map to the next.

Maps 1 and 2 are different types of models of the world. Those using Map 1 get a somewhat different view of the world from those using Map 2. Different models of politics can also lead to different views of political life. You have viewed case studies of political life in the USA national government and of Crystal City, Texas in terms of a political system model. This model focuses your attention on relationships between political resources and activities among groups. It also helps you to see how these relationships either change or remain the same over a period of time.

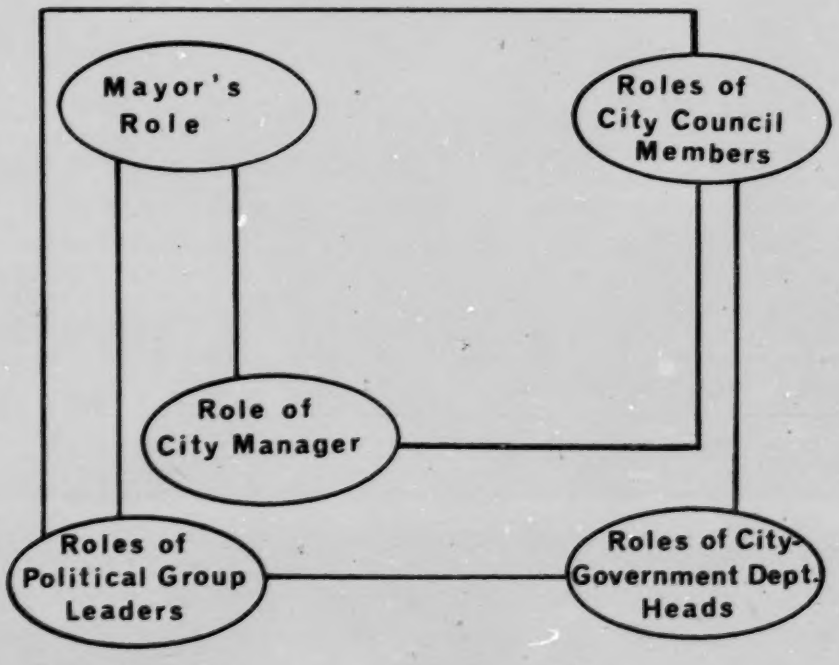
Our political system model gives us a macro view of political life. That is, it gives us a large-scale, or general, view of relationships among different groups in a political system. (See the following political system model diagram.)

A different model of politics might lead to micro, or small-scale, view of political life. For instance, a political role model would focus attention on the political behavior of different types of individuals. (See the following political role model diagram.)

Political System Model Applied to Crystal City
(A Macro or Large-Scale Focus on the Relationships of Groups)


Political Resources
of Different Groups (Anglos, Members of La Raza Unida, Chicanos opposed to La Raza Unida).
Political Activities
of Different Groups (Anglos, Members of La Raza Unida, Chicanos opposed to La Raza Unida)
Political Experiences
What happens to political activities and resources of different groups from one time to another.

Political Role Model Applied to Crystal City
(A Micro or Small-Scale Focus on the Relationships of Selected Individuals)


Mayor's Role
Roles of City Council Members
Role of City Manager
Roles of Political Group Leaders
Roles of City-Government Dept. Heads

Think about the case study of politics in Crystal City, Texas on pages 57 to 78.

Using a political role model would lead to a detailed examination of individuals like the mayor of Crystal City, a city councilman, or a typical citizen of the town. For example, the role model would require us to describe in detail what the Mayor does during a typical day. We would call this description the Mayor's role. We would also need to describe in detail what a city council member does during a typical day. We would call this description the role of a city council member. Similar studies would be made of the roles of the different kinds of people who participate in the political life of Crystal City.

Using our political system model to study Crystal City focuses attention on the similarities and differences in political activities and resources of different groups. This model helps one to know which groups have more or less influence on the distribution of resources and to understand why some groups have more or less to say about who gets what.

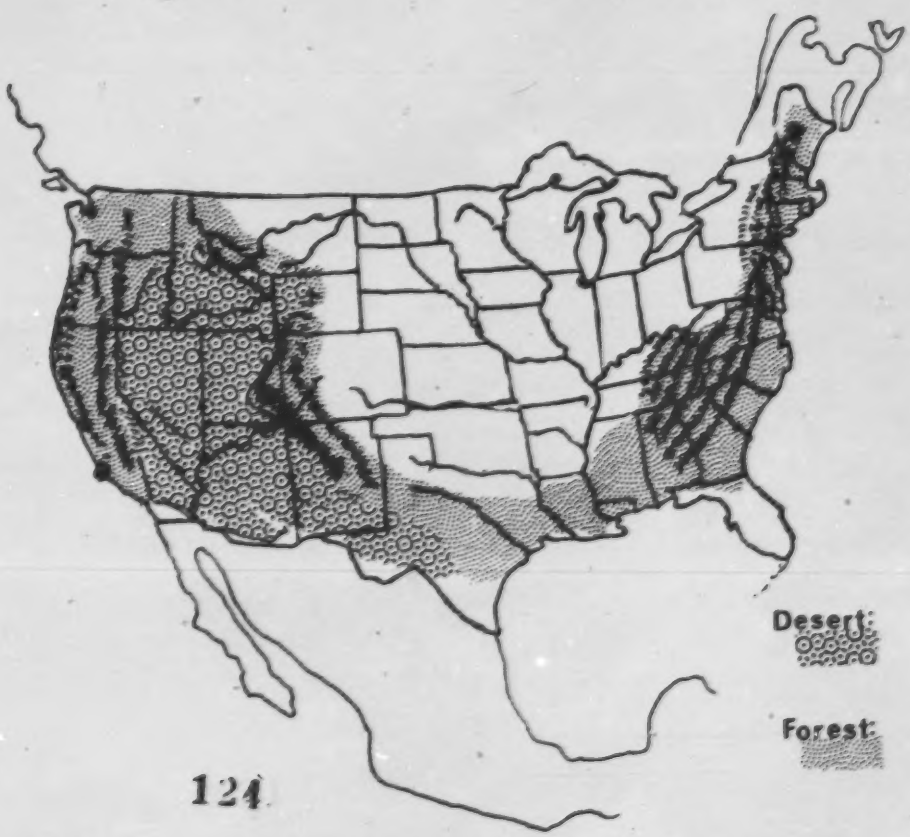
As you can see, the role model leads to a very different view of political life from that provided by our political system model. The facts of political life are the same regardless of the model we choose to use. But different models, such as the different types of maps on pages 106 and 110, provide us with different frames-of-reference, or different perspective, on these facts.

Are some models better than others? We can answer this question by comparing a good model of political life to a good map. The features of a good map must be presented clearly so that one can use the map without confusion. An ambigous, difficult-to-read map might be of little use to us. Likewise, the parts of a good model of political life must be defined clearly so that they can be applied without confusion to the study of political life.

Good maps and good models of political life are relevant. That is, they pertain directly to some goal or purpose that a user of the map or model has in mind. For example, a topographical map of the USA, showing no cities or highways, would not be relevant to someone who wants to find out the shortest way to travel by automobile from Chicago to Los Angeles. In contrast, a clear roadmap would be most relevant in this case. (See the roadmap and the topographical map on page 115.

Likewise, our political system model is well-suited, or relevant, to the purpose of someone who wants to have a macro view of political life. For example, someone who wants to describe the general political relationships between different groups would want to use our political system model. In contrast, a political role model fits the objective of someone who wants to study in detail the political behavior of particular persons.

Roadmap Showing the Way From Chicago to Los Angeles



Topographical Map of USA

A major purpose of this course is to compare political activities and resources in different groups of people at different times and places. Thus, our political system model -- with its macro perspective -- is more relevant to us than is a political role model -- with its micro perspective. For example, our system model can be used to compare political resources and activities in different local communities like Chicago or Chhatera, India. This model can be applied to the study of countries like the USA and Mexico. Our model of a political system can also be used to compare political resources and activities in international organizations such as the Soviet Bloc and the Organization of Oil Producing and Exporting Countries. Finally, our model can be used to help you understand political life in your own surroundings, especially in your school.

A political system model, such as the coalitional model described on pages 81 to 87, can be used as a kind of measuring rod to apply to your studies of politics. For example, you applied our coalitional system model to your interpretation of a case study about politics in the United States national government. You tried to decide whether the political life described in this case fit more or less the coalitional system model. In this way, you used the coalitional systems model as a kind of measuring rod to help you make a judgment about political life in the USA.

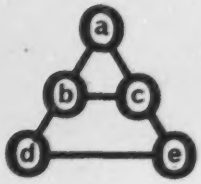
The words "more or less" are important to your use of any political systems model. For instance, it is unlikely that any case of real political life would fit our coalitional system model exactly. Rather, cases of political life might appear to be more or less similar to the model.

In this course we will use four different kinds of political system models to help us compare political life in different places or at different points in time. Following are brief descriptions of these models.

ELITE POLITICAL SYSTEM

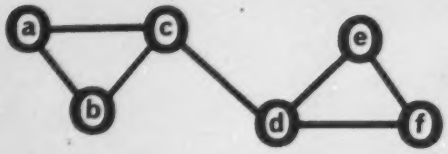
A POLITICAL UNIT IN WHICH MOST POLITICAL RESOURCES ARE SHARED BY A FEW PEOPLE AND MOST POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ARE CARRIED OUT BY A SMALL GROUP.

BUREAUCRATIC POLITICAL SYSTEM



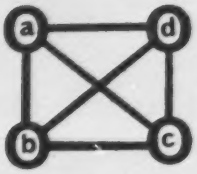
A POLITICAL UNIT IN WHICH POLITICAL RESOURCES ARE STRATIFIED ACROSS GROUPS OF PEOPLE IN THE SYSTEM AND MOST POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ARE CARRIED OUT BY PEOPLE ACCORDING TO THEIR POSITIONS.

COALITIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEM



A POLITICAL UNIT IN WHICH MOST POLITICAL RESOURCES ARE DIVIDED AMONG DIFFERENT GROUPS AND MOST POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ARE CARRIED OUT BY MANY DIFFERENT GROUPS.

PARTICIPANT POLITICAL SYSTEM



A POLITICAL UNIT IN WHICH MOST POLITICAL RESOURCES ARE SHARED BY MANY PEOPLE AND MOST POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ARE CARRIED OUT BY MANY PEOPLE.

Notice that the models consist of relationships between groups that are based on the groups' shares of political resources and activities in the system. For example, in the Elite System, Group A controls most of the resources in the system. Thus, this group dominates the political activities of the system. In contrast, in the Participant System, political activities and resources are shared equally.

During the remainder of Unit One, we will concentrate on using the coalitional system model. However, in subsequent units of this course, we also will investigate other system models to help us compare political life in different places and at different times.

Look at the list of factual statements below. Use the three parts of our political system model to organize (put into categories) the list of factual statements about political life in Crystal City. (See the case study about Crystal City, Texas on pages 57 to 78.)

Organize the statements by writing in the correct space in Chart 1, on page 118, the number of every statement that fits one of the three categories. You may decide that one (or more) of the statements does not fit any of the categories in Chart 1. If so, do not write the number of the statement(s) in the chart.

List of Factual Statements

1. The City Manager is supposed to oversee law enforcement and to administer the city's business.
2. In 1963, the Anglos owned more than 90 percent of the businesses and farms in the Crystal City area.
3. As founder of La Raza Unida Party, José Angel Gutiérrez spent much of his time every week in calling meetings and organizing political activities.
4. A city council member has the authority to make laws for the city.
5. In 1975, the Anglos had much less involvement in decision-making than they did in 1965.
6. The mayor attends public ceremonies in the town.
7. In 1964, the mayor of Crystal City had very little political skill in carrying out the duties of his office, such as being chairman of city council meetings.
8. In 1975, the leaders of La Raza Unida Party had more involvement than other groups in important political decisions.
9. In 1975, the Chicanos had much more money, skills, and information than they did in 1965.

CHART 1: Organizing Information in Terms of Political Resources, Activities and Experiences

Political Resources	Political Activities	Political Experiences
Category A	Category B	Category C

Another way to view political life in Crystal City is in terms of a political role model. Try to use the parts of a political role model to organize (put into categories) the list of factual statements on page 119. Organize the statements by writing in the correct space in the chart below the number of every statement that fits one of the categories. You may decide that one (or more) of the statements does not fit any of the categories in Chart 2. If so, do not write the number of the statement(s) in the chart.

CHART 2: Organizing Information in Terms of a Political Role Model

Mayor's Role	City Council Member's Role	City Manager's Role	Political Group Leader's Role
Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D

Answer the following questions about your attempts to categorize the nine factual statements on page 119 in terms of two different models or sets of categories.

1. Which of these models influence the factual interpretations of a person using the models?

   ____ a. The Political System Model

   ____ b. The Political Role Model

   ____ c. Both Models Influence One's Factual Interpretations

   Explain your answer.

2. Which model enables the correct organization and interpretation of the factual statements?

   ____ a. The Political System Model

   ____ b. The Political Role Model

   ____ c. Both models may enable a correct organization and interpretation of the factual statements; it depends on the user's purpose.

   ____ d. Neither model enables a correct organization and interpretation of the factual statements.

   Explain your answer.

3. Which of the models can be applied to a wider range of factual statements?

   ____ a. The Political System Model

   ____ b. The Political Role Model

   ____ c. Both models can be applied to the same range of factual statements.

   Explain your answer.

4. Which of the models should be used by someone who wants to study the day-to-day political behavior of individuals who hold leadership positions in a city government?

____ a. The Political System Model

____ b. The Political Role Model

____ c. Neither of the models fit this purpose

____ d. Both of the models fit this purpose

Explain your answer.

5. Which of the models should be used by someone who wants to compare the political activities and resources of different groups in a city?

____ a. The Political System Model

____ b. The Political Role Model

____ c. Neither of the models fit this purpose

____ d. Both of the models fit this purpose

Explain your answer.

6. What have you learned about political models from this lesson? Check each statement with which you agree. Be prepared to explain your choices.

____ a. There may be more than one correct way to interpret the same body of information.

____ b. The political systems model is <u>the</u> best guide to making sense out of information about political life.

____ c. Political life in a particular setting (such as Crystal City) will either fit a political system model <u>exactly or not at all</u>.

____ d. Political models can be used to help one make sense out of information about political life.

____ e. All political models are equally helpful to students of political life.

PART E: TWO POLITICAL EXPERIENCES

Activity E-1: Roosevelt and the Lend-Lease Bill

You have learned a great deal about political systems and the patterns of resources and activities of which they are composed. This activity focuses on how systems operate over long periods of time. In order to understand how political systems work over time, you will study about Presidential decision-making under two different Presidents, Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman, by focusing on decisions they made about U.S. foreign policy.

One significant area of U.S. foreign policy has always involved what have come to be known as the "war powers." According to the Constitution, Article II, Section 2 provides that "The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States." As Commander-in-Chief, the President has a great deal of power in sending out troops and commanding forces overseas.

The Constitution did, however, give the Congress the sole power "to declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water." In other words, although the President could command troops, Congress was granted the power of deciding whether or not the U.S. would go to war.

The first Presidents held to a strict interpretation of the division of authority between Presidential management of wars and Congressional decision-making about whether or not to engage in wars. Over time, however, questions of the division of authority began to be raised and Presidents began to move to be more responsive to their own exercise of war-making powers. President Lincoln expanded the Army and Navy and

proclaimed blockades of Confederate ports. In the Prise Cases in 1863, the Supreme Court declared that Lincoln was justified in his actions because the South had, in fact, invaded the North in a domestic war. War had been declared by the other side. The President was duty-bound to respond.

During World War I, Woodrow Wilson used extraordinary powers delegated by Congress. He also used his authority as Commander-in-Chief to control the news and other forms of communication. All in all, Congress gave Wilson just about everything he wanted including the power to take over and operate enemy vessels, to regulate priorities in transportation, and to regulate and prohibit exports.

When Franklin Delano Roosevelt first came to power, the Congress did not want to enter into war on any grounds. The neutrality acts of 1935 and 1937 prohibited shipments of arms and ammunitions to other nations involved in a war. It was with this history and in this mood that Roosevelt's decision to send 50 destroyers to Britain was made. The case on the next page outlines that decision. Read the case and think about whether Roosevelt's decision represented any change in the way war powers were handled before his time. Then answer the questions which follow the case.

ROOSEVELT AND THE LEND-LEASE BILL

Britain was backed against a wall. They were standing alone against Hitler. Nazi armies controlled France and they were prepared to advance against Britain. Chruchill needed all the help the U.S. could provide, so he asked Roosevelt for fifty used destroyers to help protect the English Channel and the supplies coming into Britain. Without this aid, Churchill argued, Britain would fall and bring the U.S. into immediate danger of Nazi invasion.

Roosevelt hesitated. It was a complex issue. The Congress had recently passed neutrality legislation which limited presidential initiative in sending arms in foreign wars. Besides, it was an election year and no one wanted to enter the Second World War. He knew it would be extremely difficult to get Congressional approval to send the destroyers. And he felt that he had to have that approval.

So he held a meeting with Congressional leaders, and on August 2, 1940, he met with his cabinet. They favored pushing legislation to enable Roosevelt to send the destroyers, as long as sending the destroyers would not be confused with entering the war. Roosevelt knew what he wanted to do, but he wanted to find something more binding than the approval of the Congressional leaders and his cabinet on which to base his action.

He consulted with his attorney general, Robert H. Jackson. No, Roosevelt didn't think that the Constitution gave the President the power to unilaterally send destroyers to Britain in support of a major war effort. No, he didn't think that his role as Commander-in-Chief gave him a position through which to initiate the sale of the destroyers. What then, could he do?

Actually, Roosevelt had the backing of laws passed by Congress and at least two significant Supreme Court decisions. In the case of U.S. vs. Curtis-Wright Corporation, the Court had decided that the President did not need Congressional approval to conduct foreign affairs. He only needed approval for domestic policy matters. The Court further argued that these were inherent powers and were not expressly stated in the Constitution. This court action gave Roosevelt a free hand in the destroyer decision.

In U.S. vs. Belmont, the Court further argued that Presidents could make agreements without the consent of the Senate. Executive agreements could be made with foreign powers and their terms would be binding. American recognition of the Soviet Union was achieved through this route in 1933. Why not use the same precedent for destroyers? The court ruling was clear.

Congress had also approved legislation that arms and equipment could be sold if it was not essential for the national defense. Roosevelt could argue that 50 over-age destroyers were less valuable to the U.S. defense than acquiring some bases in British possessions in the Western Hemisphere. The U.S. had always been committed to first line defense.

Roosevelt wasn't impressed. He knew the legal precedents would be meaningless if Congress felt he was violating neutrality and entering a war by giving arms to Britian. But he was convinced that an exchange of the destroyers for land to be used for building U.S. bases in the Americas had legal precedents and sanctions. With both the Courts and Congress behind him, he could make a straight executive agreement without the potential power of escalating U.S. assistance to the war effort.

He would do it. But first he would check with presidential candidates to be sure the agreement would not provoke a major campaign debate. Wendel Willkie, the GOP presidential candidate, agreed to do this, but preferred that the destroyers be exchanged for the bases, rather than unilaterally delivered.

Roosevelt sent the destroyers. Churchill was pleased. Months later in March of 1941, the Congress passed the Lend-Lease bill specifically authorizing Roosevelt's action and continued to aid Britain.

Discussion Questions

1. Did Roosevelt feel he needed Congressional legislation in order to send the destroyers to Britain? Did he wait for such legislation to make his decision?

2. Did Roosevelt seek the consent of members of other branches of government in making his decision? If so, whose consent did he seek?

3. Did Roosevelt use his position as Commander-in-Chief as a base for making his decision?

4. Did Roosevelt feel that the power to commit the ships was "inherent" in the office of the Presidency?

5. Did Roosevelt's decision affect the distribution of resources such as authority or status between the Presidency, Congress and the Courts?

6. Did Roosevelt engage in any activities which were different from previous Presidents? Did any of his activities change the working relationships established between the Presidency, Congress and the Courts?

7. This case is one of political maintenance. Give a definition of political maintenance which you think accurately describes what happened in this case.

Activity E-2: Truman and the Korean Decision

You have learned that maintenance is a political experience which occurs when patterns of resources and activities remain the same over time and a political system continues to operate in the same way. You can probably think of several cases of political maintenance in your own community or school. List two such cases of political maintenance in your own community or school below.

1. _____

_____

_____

2. _____

_____

_____

Political systems do not always undergo maintenance experiences. Systems often change in rather dramatic ways. Through a revolution, a political system can change its structure very quickly. Most often, however, political systems change slowly over time. Think about some changes in resources or activities you know about in your school or community and list two changes in the space below:

1. _____

_____

_____

2. _____

_____

_____

President Truman's decision to send troops to Korea represents a case of change in the relationship between the Congress and the Presidency. Like

the Roosevelt case, it involves the "war powers" of the President. Read the case on the following pages and think about how Truman's actions differed from Roosevelt's actions. Answer the questions which follow the case. Then read the exercise on "making comparisons" and answer the additional questions about the Roosevelt and Truman decisions.

TRUMAN AND THE KOREAN DECISION

On June 24, 1950 the North Korean Army invaded South Korea. On June 25, the UN Security Council asked member states to aid the U.S. in supporting South Korea. Within 24 hours President Truman had committed American air and sea forces in the Korean War. The U.N. had asked for assistance and he had responded.

On June 27, the President told Congressional leaders of his decision. He was supported. But on June 29, Truman made another decision. He authorized General Douglas MacArthur to commit one division of American combat forces to the war effort. Within twenty-four hours he had increased that commitment and the U.S. became involved in a major war in Korea.

The afternoon of June 30 the Senate and House reacted to Truman's decision. Generally, most people approved of Truman's commitments, but many also raised questions about the need for Congressional approval. Several asked the President to request a joint resolution approving his actions. Truman turned to his Secretary of State, Dean Acheson.

Acheson was a lawyer who knew the Constitution. He also knew the Supreme Court. Acheson knew that Presidents had committed American forces to combat many times before without Congressional action. He also believed that the President, as Commander-in-Chief, had a right to make troop commitments.

Truman accepted Acheson's recommendation. He continued to send troops to Korea. He also unilaterally decided to send four more divisions to reinforce U.S. forces in Europe. He further aggravated the situation by stating at a press conference that he did <u>not</u> need

the approval of Congress to send more troops to Europe, or anywhere else for that matter. After all, he was the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.

The great debate of 1950-51 focused on the power of the President to engage U.S. troops in a foreign war without Congressional approval. For the first time, the President and the Congress were at a showdown over who controlled the commitment of American troops abroad. The President held fast to his authority as Commander-in-Chief. Some Congressmen argued such authority was dangerous. Representative Frederic Coudert argued that such power was a threat to American Constitutional government. Senator Morse inserted the full text of the Curtiss-Wright decision into the Congressional Record in support of Truman's actions.

As it turned out, the debate closed with a weak "sense of the Senate" resolution which approved Truman's actions, but stated that more troops could not be sent to Europe without Congressional approval. Truman had won. A precedent was set for Presidential War Powers which would be expanded still further.

Discussion Questions

1. Did Truman feel he needed Congressional legislation in order to send troops to Korea? To Europe?

2. Did Truman seek the consent of members of other branches of government in making his decision? If so, whose consent did he seek?

3. Did Truman use his position as Commander-in-Chief as a base for making his decision?

4. Did Truman feel that the power to commit troops was "inherent" in the office of the Presidency?

5. Did Truman's decision affect the distribution of resources such as authority or status between the Presidency, Congress and the Courts?

6. Did Truman engage in any activities which were different from previous Presidents? Did any of his activities change the working relationships established between the Presidency, Congress and the Courts?

7. This case is one of political change. Give a definition of political change which you think accurately describes what happened in this case.

Roosevelt and Truman clearly acted differently in some ways in their foreign policy decisions. In some ways, there were also similarities in their behavior. Making comparisons is the act of distinguishing similarities and differences in political life. In the same way you compare people's grades or athletic ability and talk about how some people received similar grades or others have different skills in playing basketball, you can compare political life in different political systems. In the two previous cases, you can compare the foreign policy decisions of Roosevelt and Truman.

In order to make a sound comparison, it is important to do three things:

1. To determine what it is you are comparing.
2. To make sure the objects or events you are comparing are really comparable.
3. To determine the significance of the comparison.

Concepts are useful in making comparisons because they allow people to identify the objects, behaviors and events to look at in order to make comparisons. Earlier in this unit you saw how resources can be distributed in similar or different ways in the U.S. cases you studied. A concept like "status" or "money" allows you to clearly define what it is you want to compare. In the same way, you can make comparisons using concepts such as "maintenance" or "change."

Use the concept of "maintenance" to compare the decisions made by Roosevelt and Truman. Are both the decisions similar (do they both represent maintenance)? Why or Why not?

The decisions are not similar. The decisions are different and "maintenance" applies only to the Roosevelt case. They are different because patterns of resources and activities changed in Truman's case. For example, he based his decision on his position as Commander-in-Chief. The concept "maintenance" allows you to pinpoint that although both men were presidents and both made decisions, the political experiences in each case are different. By choosing one concept rather than another, you can see clearly what comparisons you are trying to make.

It's also important in making comparisons that you look at comparable things when you do your comparisons. Otherwise, you can find all kinds of differences and similarities which will not help you to understand political life. For example, you could look at troop commitments in Korea and destroyer sales to Britain and find all types of differences, but they would not tell you much more than the fact that troop commitments in one case are different from destroyer sales in another. You already know that fact by the definition of your concepts. One the other hand, if you compared political maintenance in both cases and found similarities and differences, you would be able to say something more about political maintenance than your definition would tell you. You could state that maintenance involved consulting Congress and not assuming that the decision to go to war was part of the role of Commander-in-Chief. You could also show that Truman's decision did not maintain the system of rules between Congress and the President because he did assume that his role as Commander-in-Chief gave him the right to decide to commit troops and go to war.

Look again at the Roosevelt and Truman cases. What concepts can you use to distinguish similarities and differences between the two cases? List two concepts and indicate the similarities and differences in the two cases.

1. _____

_____

2. _____

_____

In making comparisons, we are interested both in identifying similarities and differences and in determining their significance. For example, you can find that Roosevelt maintained patterns of requesting Congressional consent to go to war and not basing his actions on the position of Commander-in-Chief. Truman did not seek legislation and relied heavily on his commander position. The <u>significance</u> of these differences is that the balance of power between the Congress and the Presidency begins to shift in favor of the Presidency because of Truman's action. The system becomes less coalitional and more elite in its power structure.

List below some of the differences between Roosevelt's and Truman's decisions and what you think is the <u>significance</u> of those differences.

1. _____

_____

_____

2. _____

_____

_____

Activity E-3: Decide!

This activity focuses on a game which the entire class will play. Your teacher will instruct you on how to play the game and will make sure you have the materials you need. The discussion questions for the end of the game are reproduced here.

Discussion Questions

1. Give a brief description of the rules that operated in your group, how your group went about making its decision, and the final decision (if any) that was made in the first round of the game.

2. Were the rules which were given for your group an important factor influencing how a decision was made in your group? If so, state how you think the rules influenced your activity. (Were there things you could not do because of a rule? Were there things you could do more easily than other people in your group because of a rule?)

3. If these rules were maintained over many decisions, do you think decisions would continue to be made in the same way? What kinds of events might bring about change?

4. List the changes that were made in the rules governing how your group made its decision in the second round of the game. State how the changes affected how the group made its decision.

5. What do you think was the significance of the rule changes for your group as a political unit?

PART F: POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND CONFLICT

Activity F-1: Two Dialogues

The Roosevelt and Truman cases have been used as introductions to two major political experiences: maintenance and change. The definitions of maintenance and change can be restated here.

> Maintenance occurs when patterns of resources and activities remain the same over time and a political system continues to operate in the same way.
>
> Change occurs when differences in patterns of resources and activities are incorporated into a political system and the system continues to operate in largely the same way.

In both of these experiences, the political system as a whole continues to operate in similar ways as in the past. Some resource patterns may change, but generally the system continues to function in much the same way. Truman's assumption of war powers did not drastically alter relationships in the checks and balances system between the President, the Congress, and the Court. His actions could be viewed as a strengthening of the Presidency, but not a takeover of legislative or judicial power.

Two other political experiences can be studied here which do dramatically affect the way a system operates. They are political development and political conflict. In both of these experiences, patterns of political resources and activities change and systems change substantially.

Read the two dialogues on the next few pages and decide in which system you think development describes what is happening or being planned and which system you think reflects political conflict. Then answer the class discussion questions at the end of the dialogues.

DIALOGUE I

GOVERNMENT FOR SALE

SETTING: A Midwestern City Council Meeting

CAST: Mayor Gus Ryan

Councilman Freeman Jones

Councilwoman Charlotte Myers

Councilwoman Nancy Sloan

Councilman Bill Stack

Mayor Gus Ryan: I've had it!

Councilman Freeman Jones: So have I!

Councilwoman Charlotte Myers: Me too!

Councilman Bill Stack: Yeh, me too!

Mayor Gus: We've split our sides to help this city and we have more slums, pollution and corruption than ever before. And now the people turn down the bond issue!

Councilwoman Nancy Sloan: You can have the whole city government! I'll auction my council seat to the highest bidder.

Councilman Jones: I'll give mine away.

Mayor Gus: Face it, we couldn't sell the government if we tried, we'd have to pay someone to haul it away.

Councilwoman Myers: We could run a contest, $1,000 for the best idea on how to run Central City.

Councilwoman Sloan: Now you're talking. For that kind of money, I'll even come up with one.

Councilman Stack: Try this out for size. We all know that for years we've tried to run this city according to the will of the people, the consent of the governed. Every time we wanted to do something we asked the people.

Now, what have the people done all those years? Turned us down, that's what. Well, we all know what's good for Central City, let's just do it.

Councilwoman Myers: But we need the people's support and participation. Without it nothing will work. Remember when we tried to hire more police protection. "Guns in the street means guns in our homes," they said. And they fired the police chief.

Force won't work, it will just bring conflict.

Councilman Stack: Whoever said we needed to tell anybody about it! All we need to do is stop asking and start doing. We have enough money to build the parks we want, enough trained people to start youth training programs. Bill here has enough pull to get some industries to support us.

We could do it all on the sly and everyone would see it after it had happened.

Councilman Jones: Yes, and then we'd have a revolution on our hands. I can see it now, headlines "PEOPLE OUST CENTRAL CITY COUNCIL. COUNCIL TARRED AND FEATHERED FOR DICTATORSHIP POLITICS." I'd rather just give my council seat away.

Councilwoman Sloan: O.K., Freeman, but we have to do something. How 'bout this idea. We'll re-write our charter, like a constitution, and we'll give the Council certain powers to make laws without the consent of the people. Other powers we'll give to various agencies and groups. Still others we'll have to get the people's O.K. about.

Then we could get something done because we would have the legal authority to do it. The people would have to support that.

Mayor Gus: Not a bad idea, but how would we do it?

Councilwoman Sloan: Why, we'd take our present charter, revise it, and get the people to support the revision. That way we'd be legitimate!

Councilwoman Myers: No one in this city would buy that idea. There are too many groups. People want what's for them and they have leaders who won't let us do anything unless it's good for their group.

Somehow we have to include all the groups -- maybe they should be represented on the Council, but can you imagine a Black, anti-abortion, anti-war, business-oriented, Jewish, welfare-related bond issue?

We'd never get anything done.

Councilman Jones: Maybe, and maybe not. We could hold a referendum to expand the Council, everyone would vote for that. We could then divide the Council seats so that all groups had to work together to get things done. They'd have to cooperate, otherwise, their right to govern would be invalid.

Mayor Gus: And we'd have another revolution.

Councilman Stack: Tar and feather . . .

Mayor Gus: Yep.

Councilwoman Myers: O.K., you all. You're saying we have to operate by consent of the people. Maybe we need better strategies for convincing them that our ideas are good ones. Let's hire a good advertising agency and do what we do now, only we'd be slick and persuasive.

Mayor Gus: I'd still give someone $1,000 for a <u>good</u> idea. How about a government auction ...

DIALOGUE II

A CLOUD OF SMOKE

SETTING: A Large Urban High School Cafeteria

CAST: Nina Corbett

Jessie McGowan

Mac Lyman

Jeff Stoner

Mac: Pictures?

Jeff: Yeh, pictures. Some guy was in the john between classes taking pictures of us smoking. He also took some of the cigarette butts in the sink. Are we in for trouble.

Jessie: Cool it, Jeff. The pictures are for us. Loretta was taking them in the girls' john too. It's for the smoking lounge committee.

Mac: Before or after we all get suspended!

Jessie: Com'on Mac, how else can we prove that the johns in this school are unfit for humans and that we need some place where smokers can have a cigarette. Everybody's been ignoring the problem like it didn't exist. And people like me who don't smoke haven't been in a washroom for four years. That's not fair for anybody.

Nina: Yeh, Jessie. And I'll tell you what else isn't fair, teachers smoke whenever they want in their lounges. Of course, that's because they're human beings and we're not. They don't have smoking rules and we do.

Mac: These picture-takers, what are they going to do about getting the lounge?

Jessie: They're going to use the pictures as part of their case when they talk to the principal.

Mac: Talk to the principal! You're kidding me! If we're going to get something done we need to boycott the teacher's lounge or yell loud enough that people can't not hear us. Talking won't get us anywhere.

Jeff: Maybe not, Mac, but a boycott would get us suspended for sure. The only new rules we would get would be more hassle than the old ones. You know who has authority in this school.

Nina: Jeff's right. If we can get the support of all the students, they'll have to listen and we won't need to boycott. We can all sit down and talk things out because they know the students represent <u>a lot</u> of people.

Mac: What good will representation do us when the principal makes all the decisions? No matter what is said in the group, Mr. Stevenson will end up getting his way.

Nina: Maybe, but if we get all the information together, we can build a case that someone will have to listen to. Maybe we won't get the lounge, but we'll get a better smoking rule. There are just too many people, both smokers and non-smokers, who are getting fed up with the situation. I think if we have more information and ideas about ways to solve the problem than they do, we'll get somewhere. You know, "idea power!" For once we'll have the advantage over them.

Mac: Maybe, but this school is so lopsided in power already -- who knows?

Jeff: The only thing I know is that somebody has a picture of me smoking in the john . . . something good had better come out of this . . . and soon.

Discussion Questions

1. What type of political experience is each of the two groups considering in the dialogues?

   Dialogue I: _____

   Dialogue II: _____

2. What seem to be the major similarities and differences in the ways resources and activities are to be changed in these cases?

3. Based on the case material, what do you think is a good definition of political development?

4. How does the material in one of the cases support your definition of political development?

5. Based on the case material, what do you think is a good definition of political conflict?

6. How does the material in one of the cases support your definition of political conflict?

Activity F-2: Johnson, Nixon and War Powers

Definitions of political development and conflict can be stated as follows:

> Development occurs when differences in patterns of resources and activities reinforce each other over time and a political system operates in a different way.
>
> Conflict occurs when differences in patterns of resources and activities contradict each other over time and a political system operates in a different way.

In the Central City case, Councilman Stack's proposal would fundamentally affect the way Central City was governed. The Council would forget the support of the people and start doing things. Over time, a system that was once responsive to the people would become dominated by the Council. In the school case, there was a clear contradiction in the resources available to students and teachers with regard to smoking. There was also a contradiction in the types of activities students were contemplating and those normally allowed by the school administration. If students proceeded with their plans, the school would clearly be a different place as a result of their actions.

In both of these cases, the systems operate in a different way because of cumulative changes or contradictions in past patterns of resources and activities. Many people have argued that during the Johnson and Nixon administrations, war powers of the President promoted a fundamental change in the balance of powers between Congress, the President and the Court. Read the cases on the following pages and think about how development and conflict are promoted. The Johnson case focuses on his decision to send

troops to Vietnam in 1965. The Nixon case outlines his 1970 decision to send combat units into Cambodia.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND THE VIETNAM WAR

When Lyndon B. Johnson ran for re-election to the Presidency in 1964, he ran as a peace candidate. This posture was possible because his opponent, conservative Republican Barry Goldwater, was apparently willing to take more drastic measures in Vietnam. The President presented himself as a safe alternative to Goldwater. He told the American voters:

> "We don't want our American boys to do the fighting for Asian boys. We don't want to get tied down in a land war in Asia."

He also pledged: "We are not going north and drop bombs at this stage of the game . . ."

Many Americans wanted to believe him, and he won a landslide victory. It is probably that Johnson, too, hoped he could fulfill these campaign promises. After all, his plans for major social and economic reforms depended on a peaceful, unified nation. Early in his second administration, however, a series of decisions he made committed the U.S. to a massive land war in Asia. This was just the type of war he had promised to avoid.

In November, 1964, the American voters and many members of Congress had seemed unconcerned about the recent Gulf of Tonkin incident. In early August, North Vietnamese gun boats reportedly attacked an American destroyer in the Gulf of Tonkin. President Johnson ordered immediate air attacks on selected North Vietnamese military targets in retaliation. In the fever of the moment, Congress overwhelmingly passed a joint resolution supporting the President. This so-called Gulf of Tonkin Resolution gave the President authority "to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further

aggression." It also stated that the U.S. was ready, "as the President determines," to assist any member of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization who asked for help.

Most Congressmen viewed the resolution as a statement of support for the President when the country was under attack. Only two Senators voted against it. One of them, Wayne Morse of Oregon, foresaw the frightening implications of what they had done. Shortly after the vote he said:

> "I believe that history will record that we have made a great mistake in subverting and circumventing the Constitution of the United States . . . We are in effect giving the President . . . war making powers in the absence of a declaration of war. I believe that to be a historic mistake."

But at the time it looked like Morse was crying "wolf." As the months passed, Johnson gave no indication that he was going to use the Tonkin Resolution to expand the country's role in Vietnam. Five Americans were killed during a Vietcong attack at Bien Hoa just before the November elections. The President didn't act. There was no response to another attack which took American lives at Christmas time. No one seemed to notice that there were sound political reasons for the President's restraint in these two cases. He felt an attack in November might hurt his election chances, and he wanted to avoid military action during the Christmas season. Johnson himself was beginning to believe that the time was coming for action, not restraint.

Throughout the fall and winter, conditions in South Vietnam were getting worse. There was political chaos in Saigon. The Vietcong had control of most of the country outside of the capital, and there was growing suspicion that North Vietnamese regulars were infiltrating into the South. The President was receiving contrasting advice from his cabinet. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara urged some new bold policy to prevent the fall

of South Vietnam. Secretary of State Dean Rusk urged caution until a more stable government was established in Saigon.

A third alternative, to negotiate a quick settlement and pull out, was not seriously considered by President Johnson. Shortly after the assassination of John Kennedy, he had said that he would not be the President who lost Vietnam. He still believed that if the U.S. abandoned Saigon, it would open all of Southeast Asia to Communist control. Such an action would, in the President's opinion, deal a serious blow to U.S. power and credibility around the world.

By early February, President Johnson was convinced that some action was necessary. At the very least, he could not stand by while the Vietcong attacked any more U.S. facilities. When the Vietcong did attack an American barracks at Pleiku on February 7, 1965, the President ordered air attacks against North Vietnam in reprisal. He assured the American people that this was not an escalation of the war. On March 13 he stressed:

> "Although the incidents have changed, in some instances the equipment has changed, in some instances the tactics and perhaps the strategy in a decision or two has changed. Our policy is still the same, and that is, to any armed attack, our forces will reply."

To the President's military advisers and probably to the President himself, the bombing of North Vietnam was more than reprisals for Vietcong attacks in the South. General Maxwell Taylor, Ambassador to South Vietnam, testified about the policy before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee a year later. He said there were three basic reasons for the decision to bomb North Vietnam. First, it would assure the South Vietnamese that the North was getting punished for its aggression. Secondly, it was to hinder the further infiltration of men and supplies from North Vietnam into the South. Third, it was to show the leaders of North Vietnam that

they must pay a high price for their support of the Vietcong.

At first government officials in Washington and Saigon carefully documented how each air attack was a reprisal for a specific Vietcong action, but by early March this practice was ended. At that time, President Johnson ordered a general bombing program called "Rolling Thunder." In his mind it was a continuation of the more limited reprisal campaign which had been called, "Flaming Dart."

The President hoped that the bombing of North Vietnam would be sufficient to stop the fall of the South. Thus, he felt he could avoid any large commitment of U.S. forces on the ground. Ironically, the air war itself forced the introduction of large numbers of U.S. combat troops.

American armed forces personnel had been in Vietnam for years as "advisers" to the South Vietnamese army. But there were no combat troops prior to March 8, 1965. On that day 3,500 marines arrived in Danahg to guard the air base there. The growing needs of the air war for support facilities meant there were more possible American targets for the Vietcong. These facilities needed to be protected, so American combat troops were sent to guard them.

In April the American commander in Vietnam, General Westmoreland, requested 20,000 more troops and two more marine battalions. President Johnson agreed to send them. He also approved Westmoreland's request that marines be allowed to engage in "active and aggressive patrolling near those bases." The military command in Vietnam continued to ask for more freedom in defending American positions. On June 9, Johnson announced his approval of the use of U.S. forces in support of the Vietnamese army. Later that month he told Westmoreland that American forces could be used in independent military actions.

Finally, on July 28, 1965 President Lyndon Johnson announced to the nation that he was raising the number of United States troops in South Vietnam from 75,000 to 125,000; they were to be used as combat troops to halt the mounting aggression of North Vietnam.

President Johnson had violated his campaign pledges of 1964. He had bombed the North, and he had sent American boys to fight in an Asian war. Historians will long dispute whether his violation was intentional. Johnson thought it was necessary. Every step in the escalation during the spring and summer of 1965 was justified, in his opinion, by the need to protect American lives. The air strikes were meant to stop the Vietcong from attacking American facilities in the South by cutting off support from the North. Combat troops were then sent to protect those same facilities from more aggression.

President Johnson believed it was his responsibility and his alone, as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, to protect American lives abroad. During the period of escalation in 1965 he never felt that he had to get a vote of approval or a declaration of war from Congress. He believed that he had all the authority necessary to make the decisions he had.

He did, however, make a limited attempt to inform Congress of his actions. He briefed Congressional leaders about the February 7 attack after it had occurred. And on the evening of July 27, he consulted with the leaders of the House and Senate about his decision to commit a large number of ground forces. His decision had been made by then, but he asked for and received their support. Only Senator Mike Mansfield opposed Johnson's proposal. In the end, however, Mansfield said that as Majority Leader, he would support the President.

On several occasions President Johnson sought the approval of Congress, but he never felt such approval was constitutionally required for his actions in Vietnam. Other defenders of the President's actions have argued that by passing the Gulf of Tonkin resolution in August, 1964, Congress had authorized in advance any action the President might take in Vietnam. But President Johnson saw the Tonkin resolution in the same light as the consultation with Congressional leaders on July 27. It was important for the unity of the country and for the acceptance of his actions that Congress approve. However, all the steps he had taken in Vietnam were constitutional on the basis of his role as Commander-in-Chief.

The constitutionality of Johnson's escalation in 1965 has not been tested before the Supreme Court. Attempts have been made by individuals opposed to the war and even by the State of Massachusetts to challenge the legality of the war before the federal courts. Few cases were even heard on the District Court level. Often they were denied because they were ruled political, not legal questions.

Since 1965 many Congressmen who voted for the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution have come to agree with Wayne Morse that in August, 1964 they abdicated their constitutional duty and gave the war-making power to the President. There is little doubt in their minds that Morse was right when he said:

> "I believe that history will record that we have made a great mistake . . ."

RICHARD NIXON AND CAMBODIA

At 9:00 p.m. (Eastern Daylight Savings Time) on April 30, 1970, President Richard M. Nixon announced to the nation that he had ordered American troops to cross into Cambodia. The purpose of this "incursion," said the President, was to wipe out North Vietnamese sanctuaries along the border of Cambodia. The existence of these sanctuaries, he said, endangered the gradual withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam.

This announcement brought instant protest from around the country. Demonstrations erupted on college campuses, resulting in the deaths of four students at Kent State in Ohio. Congress reacted angrily and some Congressmen introduced proposals to cut off money for the war in Vietnam.

President Nixon had decided to send American troops into a neutral country. He had no doubts about his authority to do so as Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Armed Forces. The incursion into Cambodia, according to Nixon, was merely a tactical move to protect American troops which were being withdrawn from South Vietnam.

The threat from the sanctuaries was not new. For some time North Vietnamese soldiers had been using the Cambodian border area to stage attacks on South Vietnam. In March, 1969 Nixon had ordered a bombing campaign against these sanctuaries. The campaign, called "Operation Menu," was a closely guarded secret until May, 1970.

Operation Menu did not effectively stop North Vietnamese activities in Cambodia. But the U.S. and South Vietnam could not take any further action against the sanctuaries because of the neutrality of Prince Sihanouk, the Cambodian head of state. Sihanouk kept his country precariously balanced between the United States and China. This meant he

officially ignored the American bombing and the North Vietnamese use of the sanctuaries. There was no way he could approve an open ground attack on the sanctuaries and still remain neutral.

The opportunity to take more effective action against the border sanctuaries came in March, 1970 when Sihanouk was overthrown by Marshall Lon Nol. Lon Nol was a strong anti-communist. He was determined to get the North Vietnamese out of his country, so he began a military campaign against the sanctuaries.

The campaign went very poorly. By mid-April General Craighten Abrams, head of the U.S. forces in South Vietnam, feared a Communist victory in Cambodia. He urged President Nixon to take quick action against the sanctuaries before all of Cambodia fell to the Communists.

Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird and the President's military advisors agreed. An attack on the North Vietnamese sanctuaries, they argued, would lessen the threat to American troops and would relieve the pressure on Lon Nol. They urged the use of American troops along with South Vietnamese troops to insure a rapid and successful campaign.

The only opposition to a Cambodian invasion on the Cabinet level came from Secretary of State William Rogers. He questioned the advisability of any action against the Cambodian sanctuaries. But during the high level secret discussions about such an attack, it became evident to Rogers that the President had already decided to clear out the border areas. The only question remaining was whether American troops should participate in the invasion. Rogers argued that the use of American soldiers to invade a neutral country would be disastrous. It would, in his opinion, make the U.S. look like an aggressor in the eyes of the world. Perhaps

more importantly, an invasion of Cambodia threatened to seriously divide the American people.

The Secretary of State was not free to disagree publicly with the decision to invade Cambodia because it was a closely guarded secret. Only the Cabinet members, the National Security Council, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, military officials in Saigon, and a few members of the President's staff were involved in the discussions. Not all of them knew that the President planned to use American troops in the invasion, and the final decision was Nixon's alone.

The invasion was already underway when President Nixon informed the American people about it on April 30. Even the Congressional leadership did not find out about it until a briefing immediately before Nixon's television address.

On only three very limited occasions had any attempt been made to consult with Congress. On April 23, Henry Kissinger, then head of the National Security Council, met with eight Senators at the home of Senator William Fulbright. He briefed them about the worsening situation in Cambodia, but he did not mention the possibility of any ground attack on Cambodia, let alone one by American troops.

On Friday, April 24, Kissinger, at the suggestion of Nixon and Laird, met with John Stennis of Mississippi, Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. Stennis reluctantly endorsed the use of American troops. On the following Sunday evening, Kissinger talked with a second senator, John Williams, a conservative Republican from Delaware. Williams would not endorse the Cambodian attack.

That was the extent of Congressional consultation. It is evident that President Nixon did not feel any further Congressional action was

necessary. In his speech on April 30, he continually referred to his role as Commander-in-Chief. "I shall meet my responsibility as Commander-in-Chief of our Armed Forces to take the action necessary to defend the security of our American men. The legal justification is . . . the right of the President of the United States under the Constitution to protect the lives of American men." As Commander-in-Chief, I had no choice but to act to defend those men. And as Commander-in-Chief, if I am faced with that decision again, I will exercise that power to defend those men."

President Nixon apparently gave little thought to the legal basis for his decision until after the attack had begun. The constitutional defense of his action was prepared by William Rehnquist, then Assistant Attorney General, whom Nixon later appointed to the Supreme Court. Rehnquist concluded,

> "The President's determination to authorize incursion into these Cambodian border areas is precisely the sort of tactical decision traditionally confined to the Commander-in-Chief in the conduct of armed conflict . . . Faced with a substantial troop commitment to such hostilities made by the previous Chief Executive and approved by successive Congresses, President Nixon had an obligation as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces to take what steps he deemed necessary to assure their safety in the field."

There have been no specific federal court decisions on the constitutionality of President Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia. But there has been considerable legal debate about it. Did President Nixon commit U.S. forces to a new war or was it a military tactic in an already existing war? The constitution gives the President the authority to do the latter but not the former. Was the Cambodian invasion a violation of international law since Lon Nol had not given prior consent? These questions remain unanswered. Only a Supreme Court ruling could answer them definitively. Their discussion in legal circles, in the Congress,

and in the general populace, however, makes it less likely that a President in the near future would act in such complete isolation as President Nixon did.

Discussion Questions

1. Did Johnson or Nixon feel he needed Congressional legislation in order to send troops into Southeast Asia? Did they wait for such legislation to make their decisions?

2. Did Johnson or Nixon seek the consent of members of other branches of government in making their decisions? If so, whose consent did they seek?

3. Did Johnson or Nixon use their position as Commander-in-Chief as a base for making their decisions?

4. Did Johnson or Nixon feel that the power to commit the troops was "inherent" in the office of the Presidency?

5. Did Johnson's or Nixon's decisions affect the distribution of resources such as authority or status between the Presidency, Congress and the Court?

6. Did Johnson engage in any activities which were different from previous Presidents? Did any of his activities change the working relationships established between the Presidency, Congress and the Court?

7. Did Nixon enlarge his control over war powers compared to Johnson? If so, what added control did Nixon have?

8. How do these cases illustrate political development and conflict? Give some examples that fit your definitions.

Activity F-3: Decide!

Your class will play two additional rounds of the game of Decide! Your teacher will instruct you on how to play the game and will make sure you have the materials you need. The discussion questions for the end of the game are reproduced here.

Discussion Questions

1. Give a brief description of the rules that operated in your group, how your group went about making its decision, and the final decision (if any) that was made in the third round of the game.

2. Did the way you made decisions or the final outcome of your decision differ from the last time you played this game? If so, give examples.

3. How did the change of rules affect your decision compared to the last time you played the game?

4. Did the decisions in the fourth round of the game differ from those in the first round? If so, give examples.

5. How did the change of rules affect your decision compared to the third round of the game?

6. Did either the third or the fourth rounds of the game illustrate political development or conflict? If so, give examples.

PART G: OBSERVING POLITICAL EXPERIENCES

Activity G-1: Taking An Observer Role in Groups

In all four of the cases you have read about war powers, the Presidents took leadership roles in organizing a war effort. In terms of the role behavior you have learned in this unit, they were all playing "organizer" roles. Several other roles were played by actors in these situations. Many Congressmen, for example, played advocate roles.

One role that is very important to any group, but is often not discussed, is that of an observer. In the case of the war powers debate, many citizens have played observer roles. When observers play their roles well by keeping informed and thinking about possible ways to aid a group, they can be very helpful to the group as a whole.

Read the case below and determine who is taking an observer role and what that person is doing in the case:

Trouble at Laredo

On Monday, students in St. Anthony High's cafeteria talked about one topic: the trouble at Laredo. At each table, students who rode the bus to Laredo on Saturday to see the football game told friends what they had seen of the incident.

"Yeah, I saw a cop take Gary away, but I don't know why," said Tim. "Three or four guys were drinking wine on the way to Laredo," Jim said. As Vera listened to her friends talk, it was obvious that many students were interested in the trouble at Laredo, but few of them knew the whole story. Vera wondered whether Gary would be fairly treated.

In between mouthfuls of salad, Sara said she was on the Governing Council at the school and she had talked with Brother David, principal at St. Anthony's. He had spent the morning piecing the story together. She said that Brother David told her that he interviewed students who attended the game; he talked with the Laredo police; and he conferred with Gary and his parents. When he had collected all the information, Brother David said that he phoned Gary's parents explaining that the School Governing Council would hear Gary's case and he invited them to attend. The parents agreed that the Council should handle the problem but declined the invitation. Then Brother David called a meeting of the School Council for tomorrow.

"Well," Pete said, "He'll probably get permanently suspended. That doesn't seem fair. I think the rules should be changed so every little thing someone does doesn't break a rule."

Jim had a different opinion. "He could have only a temporary suspension. Then he wouldn't have to miss much school. It doesn't seem right not to enforce a rule while it is on the books, even if you disagree with it."

Vera thought that there was probably a way to change the rule so that both students might be satisfied. She decided she would think about the problem and she would get more information about the rules from other students. She would then bring a suggestion to Sara for the next Council meeting.

— — — — — —

Questions

1. Who was the observer in this case?

2. What actions did the observer take?

Playing an Observer Role

In the above case, Vera was playing an observer role. She was listening and making plans for future help she would give to the group. She was not disturbing the conversation or dreaming idly. There are several characteristics which are part of playing a successful observer role. They can be listed as follows:

OBSERVER ROLE

1. A successful observer listens to what is being said in a group.
2. A successful observer collects information in some systematic way about the group activity.
3. A successful observer does not disturb the ongoing activity of a group.
4. A successful observer finds ways to use his/her information to aid the group in its work at a later time.

Vera played a successful observer role by each of the above criteria. She listened to what Tim, Jim and Sara were saying. She carefully noted the discussion about rules nd planned to collect more information. She did not cut into the conversation in disturbing ways. Finally, she

decided to formulate a plan and take it to Sara in order to accommodate the opinions she heard expressed at lunch.

You will shortly be asked to play an observer role in some group situation in your school. Meanwhile, your teacher will give you some practice in playing an observer role while the class makes a decision about different groups they would like to observe. Think about a group in which you regularly participate and could play an observer role. List three such groups below:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

Bring your list to class.

Activity C-2: Observing Political Experiences in Your School

You have seen how people can take observer roles in groups. These people can contribute positively to group activities by taking this type of role. You have also learned earlier in the unit about another type of observation. Social science observation is done using an observation record to collect systematic information about political life. In Part B of this unit, you collected systematic information about several roles played by individuals in political groups. It is important here to collect more information, this time about political maintenance, change, development and conflict.

As you play an observer role in the group you have chosen, you can also gather systematic information about political experiences through an observation record. Generally, political experiences such as development are hard to "see" in a group. The following pages will give you some clues on what to look for and will present an observation record for your use.

In order to observe political experiences, you must first think about what patterns of political resources and activities exist in a group before the time you observe it. Who has the most status? Is everyone equal? Do some people have a lot of status and others very little? Who has the most skills? Do people have many different skills which are all important to the group? Does one person have most of the skills? These are all questions about resource patterns. Think about the group you will observe and list some of the resources of the group. Then state whether or not one, a few, or all people have the resources.

Resources	People who Have Resources
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____

Patterns of activities also need to be reviewed. Do most people participate in group meetings? Do a few people dominate the group? Are decisions made by a few or a lot of people? Again, think about the group you will observe and list some of the activities of the group. Then state whether or not one, a few, or all people carry out these activities.

Activities	People who Carry Out Activities
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____

Once you know what a group is like, you can go into a group meeting and look for ways in which patterns of resources and activities are the same or different from the past. The following list can serve as a simple set of guidelines for your observations:

IF THERE IS A MAINTENANCE EXPERIENCE:

1. All resource patterns will be the same.
   a. People with status will lead the group.
   and
   b. People with skills will lead the group.
2. All activity patterns will be the same.
   a. Decisions will be made in the same way.
   and
   b. People will participate as they usually do.
3. The group as a whole will operate in the same way.

IF THERE IS A CHANGE EXPERIENCE:

1. Most resource patterns will be the same, but some may change.

   a. People with different resources may lead the group.

   or

   b. New resources may be needed and used.

2. Most activity patterns will be the same, but some may change.

   a. A decision may be made in a different way.

   or

   b. Some people may participate in different ways than they normally do.

3. The group as a whole will operate in the same way.

IF THERE IS A DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCE:

1. All resource patterns will change and fit together or reinforce each other.

   a. If a few people with status have led the group, then many people will now lead the group.

   and

   b. If a few people with skills have led the group, then many people will now lead the group.

2. All activity patterns will change and fit together, or reinforce each other.

   a. If a few people made decisions, then many people will now make decisions.

   and

   b. If a few people actively participated, then many people will now actively participate.

3. The group as a whole will operate in a different way.

IF THERE IS A CONFLICT EXPERIENCE:

1. Some resource patterns will contradict others.

   a. If a few people with status have led the group, then many people will try to lead the group.

   and

   b. A few people with skills will continue to try to lead the group.

2. Some activity patterns will contradict others.

   a. If a few people have made decisions, then many people will try to make decision.

   and

   b. A few people will continue to try to actively participate as they did before.

3. The group as a whole will operate in a different way.

These are just a few examples of ways various experiences are illustrated in group meetings. The most concise guidelines are to look for sameness in a maintenance experience, some differences in a change experience, a lot of differences that seem to fit together, reinforce each other and make the group different in a development experience, and differences that contradict each other in a conflict experience.

Use the observation record on the next page as a guide for determining what is happening in the group you are observing.

OBSERVATION RECORD

GROUP POLITICAL EXPERIENCES

1. Resources: Compared to what you know about the group from the past, are resource patterns the same or different? Give examples of how status, skills, material goods, or experience is distributed in the group.

_____ Same Pattern _____ Different Pattern

Examples: _____

_____

_____

_____

2. If resource patterns are different, are only a few patterns different, are they different in ways that seem to fit together, or do they contradict each other?

_____ Few Different

_____ Many Different, Fit Together

_____ Many Different, Contradict Each Other

Give some examples of differences: _____

_____

_____

_____

3. Activities: Compared to what you know about the group from the past, are activity patterns the same or different? Give examples of how decisions are made or participation is carried out.

_____ Same Pattern _____ Different Pattern

Examples: _____

_____

_____

_____

4. If activity patterns are different, are only a few patterns different, are they different in ways that seem to fit together, or do they contradict each other?

_____ Few Different

_____ Many Different, Fit Together

_____ Many Different, Contradict Each Other

Give some examples of differences: _____

_____

_____

_____

5. What political experience is illustrated by the group meeting?

_____ Maintenance

_____ Change

_____ Development

_____ Conflict

Give some examples which best illustrate the experience from the group meetings: _____

_____

_____

_____

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